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EXTRA-BIBLICAL SOURCES FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH HISTORY

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EXTRA-BIBLICAL SOURCES FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH HISTORY

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THE period covered by the term "Hebrew and Jewish History" is taken, in this book, to extend from the beginning of Old Testament history down to the final destruction of the Jewish people as a nation in the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian. To the last part of the period pertain New Testament and Early Church history. No attempt has been made to deal with this subject. Our interest as to this period is confined to Jewish history.

No serious student of Hebrew and Jewish history is willing to confine his reading to modern histories and text-books, excellent though they may be. He feels that he ought to go back of them to the original sources from which they are drawn.

Before the present century such an investigating student had, as sources, the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Books, the New Testament, Philo, Josephus, Rabbinical literature, Herodotus, Tacitus, and other Greek and Latin writers. During the present century, however, the new science of Archaeology has thrown a flood of light upon Hebrew and Jewish history. Many inscriptions have been found, and translated, but the translations are so scattered in special works and technical journals that even the specialist finds it a difficult task to gain access to all of his material.

The present volume primarily represents an attempt to bring together in an accessible form all these new sources, that is, all Cuneiform, Egyptian, and extra-biblical Semitic sources for the study of Hebrew and Jewish history. It also aims at a collection of all Greek and Latin historical sources, down to and including those of the time of Tacitus, which throw an independent[1] light upon the subject. It has been considered unnecessary to collect material later than that period because of the fact that it must necessarily have been derived second-hand from our earlier sources.

The Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, Philo, and the New Testament are so easy of access that their historical sections have not been reproduced here, but, whenever considered necessary, reference has been given to the more important sections of them which bear upon the history of the Jews.

Much space has been devoted to Babylonian and Assyrian chronological material. This has been done with a view to encouraging the student to build up his own chronology. Egyptian chronological lists are very few and fragmentary. Those that we have are not as valuable, in any specific way, as those of Babylonia and Assyria, for Old Testament chronology. This is due to the fact that close contact between Egypt and Syria-Palestine occurred before the occupation of Canaan by the Hebrews. Egyptian chronology, however, is very valuable in a general way, since the whole field of Egyptian history from 4241 B. C., down to 525 B. C., has been chronologically arranged.

[1] Even Tacitus depends, to a considerable extent, upon Josephus.

Translations of the original Cuneiform, Egyptian, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin sources have been given in as literal a form as possible, so as to avoid the temptation of reading into the original interpretations which a mere free translation or paraphrase would allow, but which the original would not warrant. The translations, however, do not claim perfection; on the contrary, they will be found to be very faulty in many details, for the diversity of texts really requires many translators instead of one. All translations, except where noted, have been made from the originals. The translations of specialists in the several fields have been freely used in a comparative way, but in no case, except where the original was not accessible (and that is stated in the notes), has the author failed to make his own translation. The translations most consulted have been; for Cuneiform, Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, Dritte neubearbeitete Auflage; Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament;* and for Egyptian, Breasted, *Ancient Records*. References to the originals and to other literature have been given in the notes.

A brief historical introduction has been given to each series of translations. This, it has been hoped, will serve to orientate the student. A series of appendices has been added with a view to furnishing the reader with material for guidance in his study of the translations contained in this book and also of his more accessible sources. No student need now be without full equipment for a study of Hebrew and Jewish history. He has all the sources in convenient form. They are: the Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, Philo, the

New Testament, and this present collection of extra-biblical sources.

The object of this work has not been to write a history, nor even to discuss the bearing of these sources on Hebrew and Jewish history, but rather to furnish the student with material which will enable him to build up a history of the Hebrew and Jewish people for himself.

The sources have been arranged chronologically within their several spheres (Cuneiform, Egyptian, Semitic, and Greek and Latin). The student is thus enabled to divide his history into periods, e.g., from the beginning to Moses, from Moses to the division of the kingdom, from the division of the kingdom to the Exile, from the Exile to Alexander, from Alexander to Hadrian, reading all the sources illustrating the particular period under consideration from the different spheres.

The works of many writers other than those referred to in the notes have been used, but it has been thought best not to encumber the pages with too many references. The same consideration has led to the omission of all transliterations of the Cuneiform and Egyptian originals. These can be readily found in technical works by those capable of appreciating them.

The author wishes to express his indebtedness to all workers in the different fields which the book represents, but he especially wishes to thank his pupil, Mr. Harold Holt, for his ready assistance in preparing the work. The book is in fact the outcome of work started two years ago with Mr. Holt in a Semitic Seminar. He also takes this opportunity

of thanking the Dean of the Seminary, the Rev. Wm. C. DeWitt, D.D., for his helpful advice in many particulars.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

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ABBREVIATIONS

CT, Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum.

MVAG, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, Berlin.

PSBA, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.

R, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vols. I–V, by Major General Sir H. C. Rawlinson. Vols. I–III, First Edition; Vols. IV–V, Second Edition.

RE, Revue égyptologique, Paris.

TSBA, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.

CUNEIFORM SOURCES

THE BLACK OBELISK

The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (860–825 B. C.*) was found by Austen Henry Layard in the central building of the palace at Nimrud (Calakh) in 1846. It is now in the British Museum. It contains an account of the many expeditions of Shalmaneser during his long reign. There is also a series of reliefs which represents the payment of tribute. The second relief from the top represents the Assyrian king receiving the submission of* King Jehu of Israel. *The inscription over the relief reads: "Tribute of Jehu, of the land of Omri; silver" (page 33 gives the translation of the entire legend).*

THE BLACK OBELISK

THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD

THE importance of Babylonian historical inscriptions for the student of the Old Testament will be better appreciated if a brief outline of Babylonian foreign history be given.

Already, twenty-eight hundred years before Christ, the power of one of the city-kings of South Babylonia was so great and extensive that it may be termed imperial. Lugal-zag-gi-si, king of the city-state of Umma, extended his sway as far as the Mediterranean Sea. Our information about the extent of his empire, however, is very scanty, and it is not until the reign of the famous Sargon of Akkad, in North Babylonia, and of his son, Naram-Sin, 2650 B. C. and 2600 B. C., respectively, that we get a really good glimpse of an empire which could be termed, in those days, world-wide, an empire extending from Elam and the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and from the Arabian desert to northernmost Mesopotamia. Both these rulers referred to themselves as "king of the four quarters of the world." Another South Babylonian city, namely Lagash (modern Tello), under the leadership of its king or *patesi* Gudea, became so opulent that wood from the forests of the West — cedars from Amanus — and stone from the mountains of Amurru (including Phoenicia and Palestine) were brought to build the king's palaces and temples for his gods. He too extended his dominions as far as the Mediterranean.

No amount of reference and historical detail could make those ancient princes more real to the mind of our Twentieth Century than to consider that of most of them we have statues, some in diorite, of a workmanship which can be called excellent even in the light of modern technique; while of all we have inscriptions and works of art, such as the silver vase of Entemena, king of Lagash (2900 B.C.), inscribed with the coat-of-arms of his city, and numerous cylinder-seals engraved in a highly artistic and technical way, that make five thousand years seem as only yesterday.

It scarcely requires such an appeal to the art of the period of the first Babylonian dynasty (2232–1933 or 2060–1761 B. C.) to realize the greatness of the next Semitic king who, from North Babylonia, governed a world-wide empire. His famous stela, facsimiles of which are almost as common in these days as are prints of the *Disputa Theologia* or the *Sistine Madonna*, now stands in the Louvre and shows us Khammurabi himself receiving his famous code of laws from Shamash, the sun-god, just as Moses received his from Jehovah. This and many letters and dispatches from his reign would of themselves make his name immortal.

Khammurabi, however, is known to us not only as a great lawgiver comparable with our Biblical Moses, but also as a great engineer who dug a net-work of canals over his country for the purpose of irrigation and navigation; a tireless architect and builder of temples and palaces; a wise administrator, as we learn from many legal documents of his reign; and a great warrior who made his name known and his

influence felt from the mountains of Elam to the shores of the Mediterranean.

Khammurabi should and will interest historical students in all departments of culture. To the Old Testament student, however, he is of utmost importance not only because of the great similarity between his laws and those of Moses, but also because it is now conceded by practically all technical scholars that he is the self-same person as Amraphel, king of Shinar (i.e., 'Ammu-rabi, king of Sumer) of Genesis 14.

During the earlier days of Babylonian history Elam was subject to the Semites of the Euphrates Valley. About 2000 B. C., however, we find an Elamite king, Kudur-Mabug son of Simti-Shilkhak, bearing the title of ruler of the Amurru and claiming extension of territory as far as the Mediterranean. Now, Kudur-Mabug was the father of Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, and we know that Arad-Sin was king of the South Babylonian city-state, Larsa. The name Arad-Sin is Sumerian and is equivalent in Semitic to Eri-Aku, that is, Arad =Eri = servant, and Aku is an epithet of the moon-god Sin. The name in Sumerian and Semitic means "servant of Sin." Further, it is believed by the most competent scholars that Eri-Aku king of Larsa is none other than the Arioch king of Elassar of Genesis 14. Chedorlaomer king of Elam of the same chapter (a name which corresponds in Elamitic to Kudur-Lagamar, "servant of Lagamar," an Elamite deity) though not yet identified, is probably a near successor of Simti-Shilkhak who was the suzerain of Arad-Sin's father. As ruler of all Babylonia he extended his influence even to the "vale of Siddim" where for twelve years he exercised his authority.

With him came westward Khammurabi, king of Sumer or Babylonia, Eri-Aku, king of Larsa, and Tudhkhulu, king of Gutium (Tidal king of Goiim, or nations). With them is associated the name of Abraham. All this happened in the earlier years of Khammurabi's reign before he had developed an empire which was too large and powerful to recognize any overlord.[1]

Khammurabi's successors were not as great as he, though we know from inscriptions that Ammi-ditana of the same dynasty claimed suzerainty over the Amurru.

The second Babylonian dynasty was a period of retrogression and hence of obscurity. It was succeeded by a dynasty of foreign kings called Kassites who reigned from the seventeenth to the twelfth century B. C. It was during the earlier part of this period that the Hittites made themselves felt in Mesopotamia, although as early as the last king of the first Babylonian dynasty, an inscription says: "at the time of Samsu-ditana (the last king of the first Babylonian dynasty) [came] the Khatti (Hittites) to Akkad."

Lugal-zag-gi-si, c. 2800, B. C.

An inscription in the Sumerian language belonging to Lugal-zag-gi-si's reign says: "When he (i.e., Lugal-zag-gi-si) had conquered from the rising (of the sun) to the setting, then he (i.e., his god En-Lil) made way for him from the lower sea (over) the Tigris and the Euphrates even to the *upper sea* (i.e., the Med-

[1] It was not till the 31st year of Khammurabi's reign that he threw off the yoke of Elam.

iterranean); from the rising even to the setting . . . En-Lil has given to him." [1]

Sargon, c. 2650 B. C.

Sargon, king of Agade, by the royal gift of Ishtar was exalted.
And he had no equal nor rival. His glory he poured out over the world.
The sea in the East he crossed,
And in the eleventh year, *the country of the West* in its full extent his hand subdued.
He united them under one control; his image he set up in the *West;*
Their booty he brought over in the country of the sea.
He settled the sons of his palace for five *kasbu* around,
And over the hosts of the world he reigned supreme.[2]
. . . Sargon who marched against the *Amurru*
And conquered the *Amurru;* his hand subdued the four quarters of the world.[3]

Gudea, c. 2450 B. C.

When he (i.e., Gudea) built the temple of Nin-gir-su, Nin-gir-su, his beloved lord opened the way for him from the *upper sea* even to the lower sea.[4]

Khammurabi, c. 2130 or 1958 B. C.

Khammurabi, powerful king, king of Babylon, king of the four quarters of the world, establisher of the land,

[1] Translated by Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 154–155.

[2] King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings.* Vol. II, pp. 3–5.

[3] King, *op. cit.*, p. 27, obv. §II. There are several other similar passages in the omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin.

[4] De Sarzec et Heuzey, *Découverts en Chaldée*, Goudéa Statue B, 5, 21 ff.

the king whose deeds are well-pleasing unto the heart of Shamash and Marduk, am I.[1]

For (Ash)ratu, the bride of Anu, who hath attained to dominion, the lady of strength and abundance, (the lady) of the mountain (whose worship) is carefully tended, the merciful lady, who for her spouse maketh favourable her exalted word, for his lady, on behalf of the life of Khammurabi, the king of the *Amurru*, Iturashdu the *rabianu* of the (district of the) river, the son of Shuban hath marvellously fashioned a guardian image worthy of her divinity, for her service within the dwelling which is beloved of her.[2]

KUDUR-MABUG, father of Arad-Sin (Eri-Aku), c. time of Khammurabi.

For the God Nannar, his lord, has Kudur-Mabug,
Suzerain of *Amurru*, son of Simti-Shilkhak,
Because Nannar heard his prayer, built
E-nun-makh, the temple of Nannar, for his life
And for the life of Eri-Aku his son, king of Larsa.[3]

AMMI-DITANA, 2921 or 1849 B. C.

Ammi-ditana, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the *da-ga-mu* of *Amurru*, am I.[4]

[1] King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Khammurabi*, Vol. I, No. 57. There are many other similar passages in the Khammurabi inscriptions. For his engineering and building, see King, *op. cit.*; for his laws, see Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi;* for contracts, see Kohler und Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz.*

[2] King, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 66.

[3] C. T. XXI; pl. 33.

[4] King, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, No. 100, obv.

THE TELL EL-AMARNA PERIOD

About 1650 B. C. Jacob and his family went into Egypt and sojourned there, according to Biblical tradition, about four hundred and thirty years. This was a time of great migrations; and we find that the Hyksos, a Semitic people, a branch of whom Jacob [1] and his family may well have been, entered Egypt and became rulers of the land. This rôle they played for fully a hundred years.

The Kassites were now on the throne of Babylon, and did not prove themselves as mighty in foreign conquest as did their predecessors. The country of the Amurru was left alone and became a temptation to the ambitions of the great kings of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty (1580–1350 B. C.), whose first pharaoh, Ahmose I, expelled the Hyksos and cleared the way for his successors' invasion of Syria. This Amenhotep I did. His successor Thutmose I not only invaded the country, but in a series of brilliant battles conquered the land of the Amurru as far as the Upper Euphrates, where he set up two tablets of victory. The most brilliant of the kings of this dynasty was Thutmose III, who in seventeen great campaigns in Asia (1479–1459 B. C.) built up a vast Asiatic Empire, establishing its frontiers on the Upper Euphrates. It was in the famous battle of Megiddo, which he

[1] It is interesting to note that scarabs of a Hyksos pharaoh give his name as Jacob-her or Jacob-el.

describes in great detail, that he completely defeated the Syrians. We learn from the booty carried into Egypt — chariots inlaid with silver, gold-plated chariots, etc. — of the astounding civilization of Syria at this period. Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV carried on the work of their predecessors in Syria and Palestine. Cities such as Tunip (Baalbec) were remodelled in Egyptian style; and rulers were appointed over cities, such as Abdi-Khiba of Jerusalem, who witnesses to his appointment by the Egyptian king. The whole land was referred to as Amurru, and perhaps was divided into two sections, Amurru and Canaan.

About this time appear on the scene two great enemies of the Egyptians, namely, the Khatti (Egyptian Kheta) and the Khabiri, who are, respectively, the Hittites and the Hebrews (in the wider sense of the term). The power of Egypt reached its greatest splendor in the reign of Amenhotep III (1411–1375 B. C.) who beautified imperial Thebes. He married the sister of Tushratta, king of the Mitanni, and formed alliances with other foreign princes. During the latter part of the reign of this ruler and of his son and successor, Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton), began the famous correspondence between foreign kings and princes and the pharaohs which we now know as the Tell el-Amarna letters.

In 1888 there were found by a peasant woman at Tell el-Amarna, the site of the ancient capital of the heretic king Ikhnaton, the famous Letters which have shed so much light upon this period of history. Many of them unfortunately have been destroyed or lost, but there is still a goodly number in the museums of Lon-

don, Berlin, Cairo, etc. These have been carefully translated and studied, and show us an intimate and extended correspondence between rulers of Syria, Palestine, and other countries, and their suzerain, the Egyptian pharaoh. They are almost entirely written in the Babylonian language which was the *lingua franca* of the ancient world, and show the vast influence that the great culture of Babylon had already exercised upon the world. At two places in Palestine have similar reports been found, at Tell el-Hesy (old Lachish) and at Ta'annek in the plain of Jezreel. That these letters belong to the same general time and correspondence as the Tell el-Amarna letters is proved by the fact that they deal with the same general subjects, are written in the same Babylonian cuneiform, and actually mention two princes referred to in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, namely Zimrida, ruler of Lachish, and Shipti-Baal.

These letters and reports show us that during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ikhnaton, Syria and Palestine were being invaded by hostile peoples and were beginning to slip away from the control of the pharaohs. This was due to the fact that there was now sitting upon the throne of Egypt a theologian and philosopher rather than a statesman. He was a pharaoh who, instead of governing his possessions, spent his time in developing a purer conception of God than was ever again realized by the mind of any Egyptian till the Christian Era. Under Ikhnaton the Hittites seized Syria, the Hebrews invaded Palestine, and the complete dissolution of the Egyptian empire in Asia ensued. Thus the close of the eighteenth dynasty in 1350 B. C. saw a complete loss

of the vassal kingdoms of Egypt's Asiatic realm and the Hittites usurping the power. In the nineteenth dynasty Seti I (1313–1292) recovered Palestine from the Hittites, and Rameses II, the "Pharaoh of the Oppression," penetrated as far as north Syria but without recovering the country. He made a treaty in 1271 B. C. with the Hittites, which is the first document of the kind known to history. During the reign of his successor Merneptah (1225–1215) the Israelites left Egypt.

The Tell el-Amarna letters are valuable for our study, in this connection, for two chief reasons. First, they give us a good idea of the condition of Palestine at a period previous to the entrance of the Israelitish tribes, and preserve for us letters actually written by the princely ruler of the city of Jerusalem, which is known in these documents as Uru-Salem, the city of Salem, the same word which occurs in the Old Testament as the name of the city of which Melchizedek was prince-priest. Secondly, they tell us about the invasion of the Hebrews, for such the Khabiri were. In this connection it is well to remember that there is no conflict between the fact that at the time when the Hebrews were entering Canaan the Israelites were still in Egypt. The terms "Hebrews" and "Israelites" are not conterminous — all Israelites were Hebrews, but not all Hebrews were Israelites. Thus while the Israelites or Jacob tribes were in Egypt, other Hebrew tribes were knocking at the door of Canaan and seeking an entrance into that land which their brethren were to occupy later.

Letters of Abdi-Khiba King of Jerusalem
c. 1400 B. C.

I. Obv. Abdi-Khiba thy servant has spoken to my lord, the king. At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times do I fall. What have I done against my lord, the king? They have slandered me to my lord, the king, saying: "Abdi-Khiba has revolted against his lord, the king." Now, as for me, neither my father nor my mother appointed me to this place. The strong arm of the king brought me to my father's house. Why should I offend my lord, the king? So long as my lord, the king, lives I shall say to the chief of my lord, the king: "Why do you favour the Khabiri and are unfavourable to the native princes?" For this reason they slander me to my lord, the king. Because I say: "The territory of my lord, the king, will be ruined." Because of this they slander me to my lord the king. But let my lord, the king, know that my lord, the king, had established a garrison, but . . . Enkhamu has taken it. . . .

I. Rev. Let the king care for his land, and be heedful of his land. The whole territory of my lord, the king, has fallen away. Ilimilku is destroying the entire land of the king. Let my lord, the king, care for his land. I say: "I will go to my lord, the king, and see the countenance of my lord, the king." But the enemy is powerful against me; therefore I am unable to come to my lord, the king. Hence may it seem right to my lord, the king, to send troops so that I may come and see the countenance of my lord, the king. As true as my lord, the king, lives, whenever an officer goes forth I say: "The land of my lord, the king, is going to ruin." If you do not listen to me all the princes will be lost, and my lord, the king, will have no more princes. Let the king think of the princes and let my lord, the king, send troops. The king has no longer any terri-

tory. The Khabiri have devastated all the territory of the king. If troops come this year the territory will remain my lord, the king's, if no troops come the lands of my lord, the king, will be lost. To the scribe of my lord, the king: Abdi-Khiba, thy servant. Bring these words, unaltered, before my lord, the king: "The whole territory of my lord, the king, is going to ruin."[1]

II. To my lord, the king, Abdi-Khiba thy servant has spoken. At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times have I fallen. I have all the words which my lord, the king, sent. . . . Let the king know that all lands have declared enmity against me, therefore let the king care for his land.

Behold the territory of Gazri, that of Ashkelon and the city of Lachish, have given them food, oil, and all they need. Therefore let the king look after the troops and send troops against the people who have sinned against my lord, the king. But if there are no troops, then there will remain no lands and no princes to my lord, the king.

Behold the territory of the city of Jerusalem; neither my father nor my mother gave it to me — the strong arm of the king gave it to me. Behold this act is the act of Milki-lim, also the act of the sons of Lapaja who are delivering the land to the Khabiri. Behold, O King, my lord, I am innocent concerning the Kashi. Let the king ask the officers if they have done violence and laden themselves with great guilt. . . . Let the king take heed to them that they support the lands with their hands. Let the king demand for them much food, and much oil, and many

[1] Abel und Winckler. *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 102. It is interesting to note that a letter from Shuwardata, king of Kilti (*op. cit.*, No. 100), gives us to understand that Abdi-Khiba is somewhat of an oppressor. Shuwardata complains that Abdi-Khiba has taken his city unprovoked.

garments. Meanwhile let Pauru the king's officer come up to the land of the city of Jerusalem. Adaja is in revolt together with the garrison. . . . Let it be known to the king that Adaja said to me, "Let us go out, but do thou not leave it (the city)."

Send me a garrison during the year, send the officer of the king. . . . I sent to my lord, the king, 5000 . . . when the caravans of the king were robbed in the fields of Ajalon. Let my lord, the king, know that I am unable to send out caravans to my lord, the king, — that thou knowest! Behold the king has put his name upon the territory of Jerusalem for ever, he therefore cannot abandon the territory of the city of Jerusalem.

To the scribe of my lord, the king, Abdi-Khiba thy servant has spoken. At thy feet I fall. I am thy servant. Bring, unaltered before my lord, the king, these words: "I am an officer of the king." Many greetings to thee.

And an evil deed has been done against me by the men of Kash. I was almost slain in my house by the people of Kash. Let the king make an investigation . . . seven times and seven times . . . my lord, the king, to me.[1]

III. To the king, my lord, my sun. Abdi-Khiba, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times have I fallen. Behold my lord, the king, has put his name upon the East and upon the West. It is slander that they have spoken against me. Behold I am not a prince, I am an officer of my lord, the king, even an officer of the king — one who brings tribute to the king. Neither my father nor my mother but the strong arm of the king established me in the house of my father. When . . . the officer of the king came to me, I gave into his hand the slaves. When Shuta, the officer of the king came to me I gave 21 female slaves . . . to Shuta, as a present for my lord, the king. Let the king care for his land. The whole

[1] Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, No. 103.

land of the king, which they have put at enmity with me, will be lost.

The territory of Sheri as far as Ginti-Kirmil together with all the princes are hostile to me. If one were a seer! — but I do not see the countenance of my lord, the king, because hostility is established against me. I am become as a ship on the sea. The strong arm of the king occupied Nakhrima and Kash, but now the Khabiri are occupying the cities of the king. There remains not a prince to my lord, the king. Everyone is destroyed. Behold, Turbasa has been slain at the gate of Zilu; yet the king is inactive. . . . Let the king take care of his land . . . let him send troops to the territory (of the city of Jerusalem). For if no troops come this year the whole territory of my lord, the king, will be lost. If they do not say in the presence of my lord, the king, that the land of my lord, the king, is destroyed, then all the princes will be destroyed. If there are no troops this year let the king send an officer to take me to thee with my brothers that we may die with my lord, the king.

To the scribe of my lord, the king: Abdi-Khiba thy servant. At thy feet I fall. Bring these words unaltered before my lord, the king. I am thy servant and thy son.[1]

IV and VII (combined). To my lord, the king: Abdi-Khiba, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I fall. Behold has not Milki-lim revolted to the sons of Lapaia, and to the sons of Arzawa so as to demand the land of the king for them? Why does not the king summon the prince who has done this deed to answer? Behold the deed which Milki-lim and Togi have done is this: after they have taken the city of Rabuda, they are now seeking to take Jerusalem. If this land belongs to the king, why is Gaza against the king? Behold, the land of Ginti-Kirmil belongs to Togi, and the people

[1] Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, No. 104.

of Ginti form a garrison in Bitsani, and the same will happen to us after Labaia and the land of Shakimi have given everything to the Khabiri, Milki-lim has written to Togi and his sons: . . . give everything which they demand to the people of Kilti. Shall we, therefore, let Jerusalem go? The garrison which thou hast sent by the hands of Khaja, the son of Miare, Addaia has taken and placed in the house in Gaza, and he has sent twenty men to Egypt. Let it be known to the king that I have no garrison.

As the king liveth, such is the case, Puru . . . he has departed from me and is in Gaza. Let the king think of this, and let the king send fifty garrison-men to guard his land. The whole land of the king has deserted. Send Yi'en-Khamu, and let him care for the country of the king.

To the scribe of my lord, the king: Abdi-Khiba, thy servant. Bring these words unaltered before the king. Many greetings. I am thy servant.[1]

V. To my lord, the king: Abdi-Khiba, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I fall. Behold, the deed which Milki-lim and Shuardata have done against the land of my lord, the king. They have won over the soldiers of Gezer, the soldiers of Gimti (Gath) and of Kilti, and have taken the territory of Rubuti. And now, indeed, a city of the territory of Jerusalem called Bit-Ninib, one of the king's cities, has been lost to the people of Kilti. Let the king listen to Abdi-Khiba, thy servant, and send troops that I may restore the land of the king to the king. For if there are no troops the land of the king will be lost to the Khabiri.[2] . . .

VI. To my lord, the king; Abdi-Khiba, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I fall. Behold I am not a prince but an officer am I to my

[1] Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, Nos. 105 and 199.
[2] Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, No. 106.

lord, the king. Why has the king . . . not sent his messenger? . . . Let the king harken to Abdi-Khiba, his servant. Behold there are no troops. . . . Let my lord, the king, send an officer to take the princes with him, the land of the king. . . . Let the king take heed for them, and let him send a messenger quickly.[1]

Letter of Burraburiash, a Kassite King, to Amenhotep IV, c. 1375 B. C.

To Napkhu'ruria, king of Egypt, my brother: Burraburiash, king of Karaduniash, thy servant, speaks thus: It is well with me. With thee, with thy land, thy house, thy wives, thy children, thy nobles, thy horses, thy chariots, may it be exceeding well. I and my brother have spoken friendly with one another, and said thus: "As our fathers were good friends so will we be also." But now my merchants who went up with Akhutabu remained behind in Canaan for business reasons. After Akhutabu had gone to my brother (Amenhotep); in the city of Khinnatuni of *Canaan*, Shumadda, son of Balumme, Shutatua, son of Sharatum of Akko sent their men and slew my merchants, and took away their money. I have sent Azzu to thee. Question him and let him inform thee. *Canaan is thy land and its kings are thy servants.* In thy land violence has been done me. Punish them, and the money which they have taken away restore, and slay the men who have killed my servants, and avenge their blood. If thou dost not slay these men, they, on another occasion, will kill my caravans, or thy messengers, and then messengers will cease to pass between us. And if that happens, they (the Canaanites) will fall away from thee. Afterwards Shumadda cut the feet off one of my people, and kept him prisoner, and Shutatua of Akko set another on his head and (thus) he stood before him. Cause these men to be brought before

[1] Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, No. 174.

thee, and take thought for my welfare. As a present I have sent thee a mina of lapis-lazuli. Send my messengers back quickly. May I learn of the prosperity of my brother. Do not detain my messenger. Let him come quickly.[1]

LETTER OF RIB-ADDA OF BYBLUS (Modern Jebeil, near Beirut), c. 1375 B. C.

Rib-adda spoke to his lord, the king of the lands, the great king. May Ba'alat of Byblus give power to my lord, the king. At the feet of my lord, the king, my sun, seven times and seven times have I fallen. Be it known to my lord, the king, that Byblus is safe, the true servant of the king. But very powerful is the enmity of the Khabiri (Hebrew) warriors against me, and may my lord, the king, not hold back from Sumur lest it completely join the Khabiri soldiers. By the representative of the king who was in Sumur, Byblus has been saved. Behold, Pakhamnata, the king's representative who is in Sumur, knows the need which oppresses Byblus. From Jarimutta have we secured means of life. Very powerful is the enmity against us. May the king not hold back from his cities.[2]

[1] Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, No. 8. Cf. also No. 9, which is a letter from Burraburiash to the same pharaoh, in which, after the usual greetings, the *Canaanites* are represented as having, in the times of Kurigalsu, the father of Burraburiash, offered themselves against their suzerain, the pharaoh. This offer Kurigalsu repudiated. It is not fitting for the pharaoh to listen now to similar overtures from the Assyrians against Burraburiash.

[2] Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, No. 80. Cf. another letter of the king in which he begs for aid from his Egyptian suzerain, and threatens to make an alliance with a king of the Amurru, as Yapa-adda and Zimrida did, if help be not given. This letter is published by Bezold and Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 14.

There are other Tell el-Amarna letters which are communications for help against the Khabiri, such as, Abel und Winckler, *op. cit.*, Nos. 110 and 137, but they are not of sufficient interest to include here. See Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Nos. 271 and 273, for translations.

THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

Under Khammurabi, sixth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, Shamshi-Adad I was vassal-prince at Asshur in Assyria, but the foundation of the kingdom of Assyria was ascribed to Zulilu in 1900 B. C. However, at a very early period Assyria grew in power at the expense of Babylonia. Shamshi-Adad III boasts of having extended his empire as far as the Mediterranean, as perhaps did many of his immediate successors, although no definite mention of this has as yet been found. The time came when the Kassite ruler of Babylonia was glad to marry the daughter of Assur-Yuballidh of Assyria, whose letters to Amenhotep IV of Egypt have been found at Tell el-Amarna. The treaty did not last long, as Assyria began to feel its power; and, under Shalmaneser I, the conqueror of "the armies of the Hittites and the Aramaeans" (1300 B.C.), she threw off all obligations to Babylonia and claimed supremacy in Western Asia. Babylonia was soon conquered, the Hittites and the Egyptians were weakening, and Assyria became mistress of the Oriental world. Tukulti-Ninib I (c. 1275 B. C.), her king, styled himself "king of the four quarters . . . king of the *upper* and lower sea." She, however, suffered a reverse again about 1250 B. C., which left Palestine free for a time and gave opportunity for the self-assertion of the Philistines and the formation of the United Kingdom of Israel.

Tiglath-Pileser, who came to the Assyrian throne in 1100 B. C., inherited more of the old Babylonian desire to conquer the West, and was not long in extending his empire as far as the Mediterranean; for he says, "60 kings of the countries of Nairi, together with those who had come to their help, with my spear, even to the upper sea (the Mediterranean) I pursued." "The land of the Hittites and the upper sea of the West, from the beginning of my rule up to the fifth year of my reign, my hand hath conquered." There he occupied the North Phoenician coast, met and defeated the Hittites, and was recognized by the Egyptians; who, as successors of the Hittites in Western Asia, sent him appropriate gifts. After the time of Tiglath-Pileser the Assyrian power again began to wane, and the West was once more left to itself. It was now that Rezon, in 950 B. C., founded a new Syrian dynasty (cf. 1 K. 11:23 ff.).

Shamshi-Adad III, c. 1600 B. C.

Shamshi-Adad, king of the universe, builder of the temple of Ashur; who devotes his energies to the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates. At the command of Ashur who loves him, whose name Anu and Enlil, above the kings who had gone before, had named for great things: the temple of Enlil which Erishum, son of Ilushuma, had built, and whose structure had fallen to ruins: the temple of Enlil, my lord, a magnificent shrine, which according to the plan of the wise builders had been planned, in Asshur my city, that temple I roofed with cedars; in the entrance I placed doors of cedar covered with gold and silver. The walls of the temple — upon silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, *sandu*-stone, cedar-oil, choice oil, honey and butter I laid the mud-walls. The

temple of Enlil, my lord, I enclosed, and E-am-kur-kur-ra, the temple of the wild-ox of the lands, the temple of Enlil, my lord, in Asshur my city, I called its name. When I built the temple of Enlil, my lord, the prices in Asshur my city (were): For one shekel of silver, two *gur* of grain, for one shekel of silver, twelve *ka* of oil, according to the price of Asshur my city, were bought. At that time the tribute of the king of Tukrish and of the kings of the upper country I received in Asshur my city. A great name and my memorial stela I set up in the country of Laban on the shore of the great sea (Mediterranean).[1]

Assur-nazir-pal II, 884–860 B. C.

Assyria again, began under Assur-nazir-pal II, to assert itself, and this time also extended its empire as far as the Mediterranean and the Phoenician coast. In his inscriptions Israel is not mentioned; but we know from later references that the house of Omri was now powerful, while Patin reigned in Syria and was subdued by Assur-nazir-pal, before Arvad, Byblus, Tyre, and Sidon had paid tribute. The Assyrian king set up a stela in this region, but exactly where is not certain — perhaps on the banks of the Nahr-el-Kelb (Dog River), which flows through Beirut, where there are five such records.

The Annals of Assur-nazir-pal II

From Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna of the land of Patini, I departed, and I crossed the river Orontes and halted. From the river Orontes I departed and between the mountains of Jaraki and Ja'turi I marched. The land

[1] Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* I, No. 2.

. . . ku I traversed, and I halted by the river Sangura. From the river Sangura I departed, and between the mountains of Saratini and Duppani I marched, and at . . . ba I halted. Into Aribua, the royal city of Lubarna of the land of Patini, I entered. The city I took for my own possession, and grain and straw from the land of Lukhuti I gathered and heaped up therein. I made a feast in his palace, and settled therein men from Assyria. While I remained in the city of Aribua, I captured the cities of the land of Lukhuti, and slew many of their inhabitants. I laid them waste, and destroyed them and burned them with fire. I took the people alive and impaled them on stakes before their cities. At that time I marched to the district of Lebanon, and to the great sea (Mediterranean) of the land of the *Amurru* I went up. In the great sea I washed my weapons, and made offerings to the gods. The tribute of the kings in the district of the sea from the lands of Tyre and Sidon, and Byblus, and Makhallat, and Maisa, and Amurru, and Arvad, which lies in the midst of the sea; silver, and gold, and lead, and bronze, and vessels of bronze, and garments of bright colored stuffs, and cloth, and a great *pagutu*, and a small *pagutu* and *ushu*-wood, and *ukar-innu*-wood, and teeth of a dolphin, a creature of the sea, I received as their tribute, and they embraced my feet. To Mount Amanus (Anti-Lebanon) I climbed up, and beams of cedar and cypress, and juniper, and pine I cut down. I made offerings to my gods. A stela with my deeds of valor I made and set up therein. The beams of cedar from Mount Amanus . . . for E-shara, for my temple, and I sumptuously fashioned a chamber of delight for the temple of Sin and Shamash, the bright gods.[1]

[1] I R. 17–26; Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, pp. 370 ff. There are other similar texts in which this king mentions the Lebanon mountains and the great sea of the West.

Shalmaneser III, 860–825 B. C.

In the person of Shalmaneser III we have a great military king who, in spite of his many wars with the land of the Namri in the east and south east of Assyria, with the Urartu of the north west, and with Babylonia, which became a mere protectorate of Assyria in 852 B. C., succeeded in leading six expeditions into Phoenicia and Syria. During his first campaign in 854 B. C. he attacked Patin, Hamath, and Damascus, and forced Aleppo to surrender, but without any decided success. At Karkar, the same year, he met the Western Allies from Hamath, Damascus, and Israel under the leadership of Bir'idri (Biblical Benhadad I), but was repulsed, as on two former occasions, although taking much booty. After the death of Bir'idri, Ahab, and Joram, Shalmaneser in 842 conducted another campaign against Hazael, king of Damascus, "the son of a nobody," who had treacherously slain Bir'idri (2 Kg. 8: 15). Tyre and Sidon promptly sent gifts, and Jehu, the murderer of the kings of Israel and Judah, to gain the favour of the Assyrian monarch, paid a coronation tribute. Damascus was thus left to the mercy of the Assyrians. Shalmaneser again attacked Damascus in 839 B. C., but without complete success; and after he was called home by internal troubles, Hazael of Syria turned to punish Israel. Rebellion arose in Assyria and Shalmaneser died in 825 B. C. He was succeeded by Shamshi-Adad IV (825–812 B. C.).

The date 842 B. C. is of peculiar importance, because by means of it we are enabled to settle definitely the chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and of Judah.

By means of the Babylonian and Assyrian chronological lists, 842 B. C, is definitely settled as the year in which Jehu of Israel paid tribute to Shalmaneser III, an account of which is found on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser. Now we know from 2 Kg. 9–10 that Jehu slew the kings of Israel and of Judah. Therefore the year of his accession in Israel marks the beginning of a reign in Judah also. According to Biblical reckoning the number of years between Jehu's accession, on the basis of the length of the reigns of the kings of Israel, and the division of the kingdom at the death of Solomon, is 98, and the number of years between Jehu's contemporary's accession in Judah, namely Athaliah, and the division of the kingdom is 95. Taking 95 to be the more reliable, as we shall have reason to believe, then the division of the kingdom took place in 937 B.C. With this date agree the Egyptian records of the reign of Shishak I, who received the refugee Jeroboam and later invaded Palestine.

The number of years according to the Judean reckoning, namely 95, between the death of Solomon and the accession of Jehu and his contemporary in Judah, is the more correct for the following reason: Shalmaneser III, in his inscription, mentions Ahab as being among the allied kings who fought at Karkar in 854. Now Ahab met his death in the battle of Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. 22), which would be in 853, that is, eleven years before the revolt of Jehu. For this period, namely, between the death of Ahab and the revolt of Jehu, the Biblical account gives us the reigns of Ahaziah lasting two years, and that of Jehoram, twelve years, making fourteen years altogether. Now we know that Ahaziah had an accident at his accession, and

undoubtedly Jehoram reigned for a time as co-regent, so that the two years are thus reckoned twice, which would leave twelve or eleven years for the interval. This would therefore correspond with the reckoning of the northern kingdom, and the date 937 B. C. is established for the division of the kingdom at the death of Solomon.

854 B. C.

The Obelisk Inscription

In the sixth year of my reign I marched against the cities which are in the territory of the river Balikh. Giammu, lord of their city, they had killed. I entered Til-mar-akhi. The Euphrates at high water I crossed. I received the tribute of all the kings of the land of the Hittites. At that time Bir'idri (Benhadad I) king of Damascus, Irkhulina of Hamath, together with the kings of the land of the Hittites and the seacoast trusted in one another; marched to make war and battle against me. By the command of Ashur the great lord, my lord, I fought with them; I accomplished their defeat. Their chariots, their horses, their utensils, their equipment, I took from them; I destroyed with weapons 20,500 of their troops.[1]

The Monolith Inscription

In the Eponym year of Daian-Ashur, in the month of Airu, on the 14th day, I departed from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, approached the cities of Giammu on the Balikh. The fear of my dominion, the brightness of my powerful arms, frightened them. They slew with their own weapons Giammu their lord. Kitlala and Til-sha-mar-akhi I entered. I even caused my gods to enter his palaces; in his palaces

[1] Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, pp. 89–90.

I held festival. I opened his treasury; found his treasures. His goods, his possessions I plundered (and) carried away to my city Asshur. From Kitlala I departed, I approached Kar-Shulmanu-Asharid. In boats made of sheep-skins I crossed the Euphrates a second time at flood. The tribute of the kings of that side of the Euphrates, of Sanger, of Carchemish, of Kundashpi, of Kummukh, of Arame, of Bit-Gusi, of Lalli, the Melidaean, of Khaiani of Bit-Gabar, of Kalparuda the Patinaean, of Kalparuda, the Gurgumaean, silver, gold, lead, copper, copper-vessels, I received in Asshur-utir-asbat, on the mountain on the far side of the Euphrates, on the river Sagur. This city the Hittites call Pitru. From the Euphrates I departed; I approached Khalman (Aleppo). They feared my battle; they embraced my feet. Gold and silver as their tribute I received. Sacrifices to the god Adad of Khalman I offered.

From Khalman I departed and approached two cities of Irkhulini the Hamathite. I captured Adennu, Parga, (and) Argana his royal city. His booty possessions; the goods of his palaces I caused to be brought out; (and) I set fire to his palaces. From Argana I departed; I approached Karkar; Karkar, his royal city I plundered, I destroyed, I burned with fire. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 horsemen, 20,000 men of Bir'idri (Benhadad I) of Damascus; 700 chariots, 700 horsemen, 10,000 men of Irkhulini of the country of Hamath, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 men of Ahab the Israelite; 500 men of the Guaeans (Cilicia); 1000 men of the Musreans; 10 chariots, 10,000 men of the Irqanatians; 200 men of Matinu-ba'li the Arvadite; 200 men of the Usanateans; 30 chariots, 19,000 men of Adunu-ba'li the Shianian; 1000 camels of Gindibu the Arabian . . . 1000 men of Ba'sa son of Rukhubi of Ammon, these twelve kings he took to his assistance (and) they marched to make war and battle against me. With the exalted power which Ashur, the lord, had given me, with the powerful arms which Nergal, who walks before me, had granted me, I

fought with them; from Karkar to Gilzan I accomplished their defeat. 14,000 of their troops I cast down with arms. Like Adad I rained a deluge upon them, I heaped up their bodies, I filled the plain. Their many troops with weapons (I destroyed), I caused their blood to flow over the surface of the field. The field was too small to cast down their bodies, the Broad field (?) was not sufficient to bury them. With their bodies I dammed the Orontes as with a dam (?). In that battle I took from them their chariots, horsemen, horses, their teams.

The Bull Inscription

In the sixth year of my reign I departed from Nineveh, (and) approached the river Balikh. (The land ?) feared my powerful weapons and (killed its prince) Giammu. I entered Til-mar-akhi. I took the city for myself. I departed from the district of the Balikh. The Euphrates at high water I crossed; I received the tribute of the kings of the land of the Hittites. I departed from the land of the Hittites. I approached Khalman (Aleppo). I offered (sacrifice to the god Hadad) of Khalman. From Khalman I departed. I approached Karkar. Bir'idri (Benhadad I) of Damascus (and) Irkhulini of Hamath, together with twelve kings of the sea-coast, trusted to their arms, and marched to make war and battle against me. I fought with them. 25,000 of their warriors I destroyed with weapons. Their chariots, their saddle-horses, their utensils, their equipment I took from them. They fled to save their lives. I embarked and went to sea.[1]

850–849 B. C.

The Obelisk Inscription

In the tenth year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time; the cities of Sangara of Carchemish I

[1] Layard, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–16, 46–47.

captured. I marched to the cities of Arame, (and) Arne, his royal city, with 100 of its suburbs, I captured.

In the eleventh year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time, I captured cities without number. To the cities of the land of the Hittites (and) of Hamath I went up; I captured 89 cities. Bir'idri (Benhadad I) of Damascus (and) twelve kings of the land of the Hittities trusted in their arms. I accomplished their defeat.[1]

The Bull Inscription

In the tenth year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. The cities of Sangara of Carchemish I destroyed, wasted, (and) burned with fire. From the cities of Carchemish I departed (and) approached the cities of Arame. I captured Arne, the city of his lordship; 100 cities of its environs I destroyed, wasted, (and) burned with fire. I made a slaughter among them and took away their prisoners. At that time Bir'idri (Benhadad I) of Damascus, Irkhulini of Hamath, together with twelve kings of the sea-coast, trusted in each other, and marched against me; I accomplished their defeat. Their chariots, horsemen, implements of war I took from them. They fled to save their lives.

In the eleventh year of my reign I departed from Nineveh and crossed the Euphrates at high water for the ninth time. I captured 97 cities of Sangar; 100 cities of Arame I captured, destroyed, wasted, and burned with fire. I reached the side of the Amanus; crossed Mount Yaraku; climbed up to the cities of Hamath; captured the city of Ashtamaku with 99 of its suburbs. I made a slaughter and carried away prisoners from them.

At that time Bir'idri (Benhadad I) of Damascus, Irkhulini of Hamath with twelve kings of the sea-coast trusted in each other and marched against me, to give war and battle. I

[1] Layard, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–91.

fought with them and accomplished their defeat. 10,000 of their soldiers I destroyed with weapons; their chariots, horsemen, (and) implements of war I took from them. On my return I captured Apparasu, a fortress of Arame. At that time I received the tribute of Kalparundi of Patin, silver, and gold bars, horses, cattle, sheep, stuffs, and cloths. I went up to the Amanus, I cut beams of cedar wood.[1]

846 B. C.

THE OBELISK INSCRIPTION

In the fourteenth year of my reign I taxed[2] the land (and) crossed the Euphrates. Twelve kings marched against me; with them I fought (and) accomplished their defeat.[3]

THE BULL INSCRIPTION

In the fourteenth year of my reign I called out the broad land without number. I crossed the Euphrates at high water with 120,000 troops. At that time Bir'idr (Benhadad I) of Damascus, Irkhulini of Hamath, with twelve kings of the sea-coast called out their troops without number, and marched against me. I fought with them and accomplished their defeat. I destroyed their chariots and horsemen. I took from them their implements of war. They fled to save their lives.[4]

846–842 B. C.

THE BERLIN INSCRIPTION

Shalmaneser, the great king, mighty king, king of all the four quarters, the sturdy, the bold, the rival of the princes of the world, the great kings, son of Assur-nazir-pal, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninib, king of the world, king of Assyria, conqueror of Enzi, Gilzan, (and)

[1] See note 1, p. 29.
[2] or, levied troops.
[3] See notes 1 and 1, pp. 27, 29.
[4] See notes 1 and 1, pp. 27, 29.

Khubushkia. Urartu I smote (?), their defeat I accomplished. I came upon them like fire. Akhuni of the people of Adini, together with his gods, the soldiers of his land, and the goods of his household I seized for the people of my land. At that time Bir'idri (Benhadad I) of the land of Damascus, together with twelve princes, his helpers, their defeat I accomplished. I prostrated like a simoon (?) 29,000 strong warriors. I cast into the river Orontes the rest of the soldiers. To save their lives they went up. Bir'idri forsook his land. Hazael, the son of a nobody, seized the throne. His numerous soldiers he summoned; he came forth to make war and battle against me. With him I fought, (and) accomplished his defeat. The wall of his camp I took from him. To save his life he went up. To Damascus his royal city I pursued him.[1]

The Obelisk Inscription

In the eighteenth year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus to battle marched out. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his horsemen I took from him.[2]

Annalistic Fragment

In the eighteenth year of my reign the Euphrates for the sixteenth time I crossed. Hazael of Damascus trusted to the great number of his troops, and called out his troops in numbers. Saniru, a peak in the Lebanon district, he made into his fortress. With him I fought and defeated him. 16,000 of his soldiers with weapons I destroyed. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his horsemen, with his camp I took from him. He fled to save his life. I pursued him and in Damascus, his royal city, I shut him up. I cut down his parks and marched to the mountains of the Haman. Cities without number I destroyed, wasted, burned with fire, and

[1] Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, No. 30. [2] See note 1, p. 27.

carried away booty without number. I marched to the mountains of Ba'il-ra'si (near Nahr-el-Kelb, the Dog River), a mountain which is near the head of the sea, and I set up my royal portrait. At that time I received tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, and of Jehu of the land of Omri.[1]

Obelisk Legend Beneath the Reliefs

Tribute of Jehu, of the land of Omri; silver, gold, a vessel of gold, a *zukut* of gold, basins of gold, *dalani* of gold, bars of lead, sceptres (?) for the hand of the king, (and) balsam woods I received from him.[2]

839 B. C.

The Obelisk Inscription

In the twenty-first year of my reign, the Euphrates for the twenty-first time I crossed. Against the cities of Hazael of Damascus I marched. I captured four of his cities. The tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, (and) Byblians I received.[3]

Adad-Nirari IV, 812–783 B. C.

Adad-Nirari IV grandson of Shalmaneser III succeeded to the Assyrian throne in 812. The importance of his reign lies in his triumphs in Media and Babylonia, although he made four campaigns in the West in the years 806, 805, 803, and 797, without much apparent success. He seems, however, to have humiliated Damascus and Mari' (Benhadad III).

Inscription from Calakh (Nimrud)

The palace of Adad-Nirari, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, king of Assyria, the king over whom

[1] III R. 5, No. 6. [2] Layard, *op. cit.*, pl. 98, No. 2.
[3] See note 1, p. 27.

from his boyhood Ashur, king of the Igigi, had watched, and had presented him with a kingdom wholly beyond compare, whose lordship, like the tree of life, over the people of Assyria he had proclaimed, and had established his throne; the lofty priest who adorns E-Sharra, the unwearied, who holds the command of E-kur; who in the service of Ashur his lord goes about, and had cast down at his feet the kings of the four quarters of the earth; who has conquered from Siluna, which is in the east, the lands of Saban, Ellipi, Karkar, Araziash, Me'su, Madai, Gizilbunda, in its whole extent, Andiu, whose location is far distant, the slopes of the mountain, in their whole extent to the coast, of the great sea of the east; who conquered from the banks of the Euphrates, the Hittite country, Amurru in its entirety, Tyre, Sidon *the land of Omri*, Edom, Palastu (Philistia), even to the coast of *the great sea of the West*, had cast themselves at my feet. I laid tribute and taxes upon them.

Against Damascus I marched, I shut up Mari', the king of Damascus, in Damascus his royal city. The fear of the brightness of Ashur my lord smote him, and he took my feet and did obeisance. 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, colored garments, linen, an ivory bed, an ivory couch with inlaid border, his possessions, his goods in unmeasured number in Damascus, his royal city, in his palace I took. All the kings of Chaldee did obeisance. I laid upon them for the future tribute and taxes. Babylon, Borsippa, and Kutha brought pure offerings to the oracles of the god Bel, Nabu, and Nergal.[1]

Nebo Statue from Calakh

To Nabu, the powerful, the exalted, the child of the majestic leader, the strong prince, son of Nudimmut, whose command is exalted, the messenger of wise things, who

[1] I R., 35, No. 1.

rules over all heaven and earth, who knows all things, whose ear is wide open, who holds the tablet stylus, who takes the hand of the prisoner, the merciful, the sorcerer, with whom is the power of cleansing and bewitching, whose power is beyond dispute, without whom naught is determined in heaven, the compassionate, the forgiving, whose condescension is good, who dwells in Ezida, which is in Calakh, the great lord, his lord for the life of Adad-Nirari the king of Ashur, his lord, and for the life of Sammuramat (Semiramis) mistress of the palace, his mistress, by Bel-tarsi-ilu-ma governor of Calakh, Khamadi, Sirgana, Temeni, Ialuna, for his life, for the well-being of his house, and his people, that illness may not befall his posterity. Let every other prince trust in Nabu, in another god trust not.[1]

Tiglath-Pileser IV, 745–727 B. C.

2 K. 15–16; *1 Chr.* 5; *2 Chr.* 28; *Is.* 66

Another period of Assyrian weakness followed until Tiglath-Pileser, a *novus homo*, came to the throne. He was called in Babylonian Pulu, which is the same word as that used in the Bible, namely, Pul. His name also occurs in the Bible both as Tiglathpileser and as Tiglathpilneser. In the early part of his reign at the request of the Babylonians he freed them from the Aramaeans and became virtual king of Babylonia, although Nabunessar still retained the title.

Meanwhile the Urartu in the North-West (one of whose kings, Sarduris II, called himself king of Suri or Syria) were becoming powerful. Tiglath-Pileser proceeded West and met Sarduris and defeated him. In 740 Arpad was taken, and as a result all north

[1] I R., 35, No. 2.

Syria submitted (2 K. 11–13). Trouble arose in the East, and Tiglath-Pileser was forced to turn his attention to Armenia and Media, and during his absence from the West nineteen states revolted. In 738 he appeared again in the West, and the states were forced to pay him tribute. Among them were Damascus under its king Rezon, and Israel under Menahem.

From 738–735 Tiglath-Pileser was again in the East, and Rezon of Syria and Pekah of Israel tried to persuade Ahaz of Judah to rebel against him; and because Ahaz was unwilling to do so they began to enrich themselves at his expense. Ahaz, accordingly, appealed to Tiglath-Pileser, who promptly responded and again appeared in the West in 734. This time he conquered the Philistine city of Ashdod, and Hanno of Gaza was defeated and fled to Egypt. He then overran Syria and Israel and carried away many into captivity. Pekah submitted but was shortly afterward slain by an assassin, and Tiglath-Pileser appointed Hoshea as his successor. In 732 Damascus was overthrown and Rezon put to death.

Tiglath-Pileser now turned to Babylonia where, in his absence, troubles had arisen. In 728 as a result of his brilliant victories he was crowned King of Babylonia, and died in the following year.

Tiglath-Pileser was really a very great king. He extended his mighty empire not only over the whole of Assyria and Babylonia, but also over Syria, a part of Palestine, and the land of the Philistines. However, the disorganized condition of his own kingdom at his accession required his whole lifetime to bring into order.

Annals, 738 B. C.

In the course of my campaign (I received) the tribute of the kings of the (land of the Hittites . . . Azariah of Ja'udi [1] like . . . Azariah of Ja'udi in . . . without number exalted to heaven . . . with eyes as from heaven . . . by means of an assault of foot-soldiers . . . (the advance) of the powerful troops of Asshur they heard, and their hearts were afraid . . . (their cities) I destroyed, wasted, (burned with fire) . . . who had allied with Azariah and strengthened him . . . like vinestocks . . . was heard . . . where the way was difficult . . . was closed (?) and high . . . was situated and its exit . . . he made deep . . . he set his arms in order against . . . he made them carry . . . his great (men) . . . like a wall . . . Azariah . . . my royal palace . . . tribute like (the Assyrian I laid upon them) . . . Kullani (?) (the Calneh of Amos 6: 2 and Calno of Is. 10: 9) . . . the cities Usnu, Siannu, Si[mirra], Rashpuna (?) on the sea coast, together with the cities as far as the mountain of Saue, a mountain which extends to the Lebanon, and Mount Ba'lisapuna as far as Mount Ammanu (Anti-Lebanon), the mountain of the Urkarinu wood and Sau in its entirety, the district of the city of Kar-Hadad, the city of Khatarikka (Hadrach, Zech. 9: 1), in the district of the city of Nuqudina, Mount Khasu, with the cities of its environs, the city of Ara, in their order, with the cities of their environs, Mount Sarbua, in its entirety, the cities of Ashkhani, Jadabi, Mount Yaraqu in its entirety, the cities . . . Ellitarbi, Zitanu up to the city of Atinni . . . the city of Bumame, nineteen districts of Hamath, together with the cities of its environs on the coast of the Western

[1] This is not Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah (2 K 15: 1–2), as was formerly thought, but the name of a king of a well-known district of Sam'al (Zenjirli).

sea, which they in sin and evil had taken for Azariah, I added to the territory of Assyria. My officers I set over them as governors, 39,300 people I deported . . . and in the district of the city of Ku . . . settled them. 1,223 people in the district of Ulluba I settled.

The tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummukh, Rezon of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibi'li of Gebal (Byblus), Urikki of Que, Pisiris of Carchemish, Eni-el of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Melid, Dadilu of Kasku, Uassurmi of Tabal, Ushkhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tukhan, Tukhamme of Ishtunda, Urimmi of Khushimna, Zabibe, the queen of Arabia, gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant hide, ivory, colored garments, linen stuffs, purple and red stuffs, *ushu* wood, *ukarinu* wood, everything valuable, the royal treasure, fat sheep, whose pelts were dyed red, winged birds of heaven, whose pinions were dyed purple, horses, mules, oxen, and sheep, camels, male and female, with their young, I received.[1]

Annals, 733–732 B. C.

. . . his (Rezon of Damascus) warriors I took prisoner . . . cast down with my arms . . . the chariot drivers and . . . their arms I broke, their chariots and their horsemen I took . . . his warriors who carried bows . . . who carried shields and spears I took prisoners with my hands, their line of battle I broke. He fled alone to save his life and . . . like a gazelle (?) entered the gate of his city. His leaders alive I pierced with spears and set them up as an object lesson (?) to his land. 45 warriors of the camp . . . I collected about his city, and like a bird in a cage I shut him up, in his parks . . . his plantations, without number, I cut down, and left not one. . . . Khadara, the paternal home

[1] Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III*, Bd. II, pls. XX–XXI, XV–XVI.

of Rezon of Damascus . . . (where) he was born, I besieged, I took. 800 people with their goods . . . their cattle, and sheep I took away. 750 prisoners of the city of Kurussa . . . prisoners of Irma, 550 prisoners of Mituna, I took away. 591 cities . . . of 16 districts of Damascus I destroyed like a deluge heap. . . . Samsi, queen of Aribi, who had trampled on the oath of Shamash . . . city . . . city of Ezasi. . . . Aribi in the land of Saba (?), her people in her camp . . . before my powerful arm bowed themselves camels, female camels, as her tribute she brought before me. A resident I set over her. The Bir'a I cast down at my feet. Mas'a, Tema, the Saba, Khaiappa, Badana, the Khatti, the Idiba'il in this territory of the West, whose dwelling is far distant, the glory of my dominion cast down [tribute of my dominion], gold, silver, camels, female camels, spices of every kind, their tribute they carried into my presence like one man, they kissed my feet . . . a palace worthy of my royalty I built. . . . I-di-bi'lu I placed as resident in the land of Mu-us-ri. [Bit-Omri] all of whose cities, on my former campaigns I had added [to my territory] . . . into captivity had carried, and left for him Samaria alone, Pekah their king [they had deposed] . . . like a storm wind . . . a district of Bit . . . prisoners of . . . city of -bara, 625 prisoners of the city . . . prisoners of Khinaton, 650 prisoners of Qana (?). 400 prisoners of . . . 650 prisoners of Ir . . . the people with their herds I carried away . . . the cities of Aruma, Marum. . . . Mitinti of Ashkelon had sinned against my oath, and from me had fallen away. He saw the defeat of Rezon, and fell into terror. Rukibtu, the son of Mitinti seated himself on his throne. In order to save his life he came before me, and besought me . . . into his city I entered, 15 cities [of its environs, I took from his land and] gave them to Idibi'il of Arubu.[1]

[1] Rost, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII–XXIII, XVIII.

Small Inscription

. . . the city of Khatarikka to Mount Sana . . . the cities of Gubli, Simirra, Arqa, Zimirra, . . . the cities of Usnu, Siannu, Ri'raba, Ri'sisu . . . cities on the coast of the upper sea I captured. Six of my officials I set over them as governors, the city of Rashpuna, on the coast of the upper sea. . . . The city of Gal'a, the city of Abilakka, which at the entrance of Bit-Omri (Israel) . . . the broad Naphtali (?) in its entirety I added to Assyria. My officials as governors I set over them. Hanno of Gaza fled before my arms and escaped to Egypt. The city of Gaza I captured, his goods, his possessions, his gods I carried away . . . my royal portrait I set up in the palace of Hanno and . . . added to the gods of their land . . . [tribute and taxes] I laid upon them . . . I overwhelmed and like a bird he fled. . . . I brought him back to his place . . . gold, silver, colored garments, linen stuffs . . . I received . . . Bit-Omri . . . the whole of its people, their goods to Assyria I carried away. As Pekah, their king, they had deposed, Hoshea I established as king over them. Ten talents of gold . . . talents of silver I received as a present from them.[1]

Tablet from Nimrud

Tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummukh, Urikke of Que, Sibittibi'l of Gebal, Pisiris of Carchemish, Eni-el of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal [of Melid, Dadilu of Kaska], Uassurme of Tabal, Ushkhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tukhan, Tukhamme of Ishtunda, Urimme of Khushimna, Matanbi'l of Arvad, Sanipu of Bit-Amman (Ammon), Salamanu of Moab, Mitinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, Kaushmalaka of Edom, Mus . . ., Hanno of

[1] III R. 10, No. 2.

Gaza, gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, colored garments, linen stuffs, cloths of his land, red, every valuable thing, products of the sea, and land, products of their land, royal treasure, horses, mules, teams . . . [I received].[1]

Sargon II, 722–705 B. C.

2 *K.* 17; *Is.* 20

In 722 at the end of the reign of Shalmaneser IV or immediately after his death and at the time of the accession of Sargon II, who was not of royal blood, the city of Samaria fell after a siege of about three years. 27,209 of the inhabitants of Israel were deported and their places were taken by people from various lands which the Assyrians, now at the zenith of their power, had conquered (2 K. 17). Israel now became a province of Assyria.

In 721 Sargon was busy with Babylonian affairs. Merodach-Baladan (Is. 39: 1) whom we meet in 2 K. 20 as Berodach-Baladan revolted and was crowned king of Babylonia in 721. In 720 a Western rebellion broke out under the leadership of Ilu-bi'di (or Yau-bi'di), king of Hamah, of which we hear nothing in the Old Testament. Damascus, Samaria, and other places were involved. This brought down the wrath of Sargon, and they were defeated one after another, and many were deported to Assyria.

This chastisement lasted until 710, when Sargon was again needed in the West. He quickly responded and the allies were defeated. The remaining years of Sargon's reign were occupied in the North and East.

[1] II R. 67.

The year of the fall of Samaria (722 B. C.) is another important date for Biblical chronology. From 842, the accession of Jehu, to 722, the fall of Samaria, according to Assyrian inscriptions, there are 120 years. The Biblical reckoning for the same period makes 143 years, a difference of 23. Now Menahem, at the time of his accession in 738 (2 K 15: 19), paid tribute to Pul, king of Assyria, as we learn from the Assyrian inscriptions. This shows that the Biblical chronology from 842 to 738 corresponds with the Assyrian chronology. But the Bible reckons 41 years from 738 to 722 which, according to Assyrian chronology, should be 16 years, a difference of 25. The surplus years seem to come in the reigns of Menahem (10 years), and Pekah (20 years). This seems quite clear from the fact that four years after the accession of Menahem, which was in 738, Tiglath-Pileser invaded Israel, putting Pekah, the successor of Pekahiah, son of Menahem, to death. That is, from the accession of Menahem to the death of Pekah — three reigns — only four or five years elapsed, and Hoshea began to reign in 734 or 733 B. C.

In 2 K 17–18 we learn that Shalmaneser was the conqueror of Samaria. As Shalmaneser does not mention the event in his royal accounts, we can feel pretty certain that, although he attacked the city of Samaria, he did not succeed in overthrowing it before his death. Sargon tells us in more places than one that he was the conqueror of Samaria. The Hebrew writer may well have made an error as Sargon was the immediate successor of Shalmaneser and took Samaria in the first year of his reign.

The Fall of Samaria, 722–721 B. C.

In the beginning of my reign and in the first year of my reign . . . I besieged Samaria and took . . . inhabitants I carried away. 50 chariots I collected there as a royal force. . . . I set up again and made more populous than before. People from lands which I had taken I settled there. My men I set over them as governors. Tribute and taxes like the Assyrian I set over them.[1]

Campaigns against Samaria, Gaza, and Hamath

From the beginning of my rule to the fifteenth year of my reign I accomplished the defeat of Khumbanigash of Elam in the environs of Dur-ilu. I besieged and captured Samaria. I carried away 27,290 of its inhabitants, I collected there 50 chariots. The remainder of them I permitted to retain their goods, put my governors over them, and I laid the tribute of former kings upon them.

Hanno, king of Gaza, had come with Sib'e the tartan of Egypt, to Rapikhi against me, to offer battle and slaughter. Their defeat I accomplished. Sib'e feared the onset of my arms, fled and was no more found. Hanno, king of Gaza, I took prisoner. The tribute of Pir'u, king of Musri, Samsi, queen of Arabia, It'amara the Sabaean, gold, the produce of the mountains, horses, camels I received.

Yaubi'di of Hamath, a soldier who had no claim to the throne, a Hittite, a wicked man, had set his mind on the kingdom of Hamath, caused Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria to rebel against me, and united them and prepared for battle. The troops of Ashur I collected and besieged him and his soldiers in his favorite city of Karkar. I captured and burned Karkar. I flayed him and killed the rebels

[1] Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, I, 4; II, 1.

in those cities, and established peace. 200 chariots and 600 horsemen I collected among the inhabitants of Hamath and added to my royal forces.[1]

Attack on Hamath and Gaza, 720 B. C.

In the second year of my reign Ilu-bi'di of Hamath . . . collected his numerous troops at Karkar. The oath of Ashur he despised . . . Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, Samaria, he made rebellious against me . . . Sib'u, his tartan, he called to his side. He marched against me to make battle and slaughter. In the name of Ashur, my lord, I defeated him. Sib'u fled alone like a shepherd whose sheep are stolen, and disappeared. Hanno I took prisoner, and brought in chains to Asshur, my city. I destroyed, wasted, and burned Rapihu, and carried off 9,033 men with their goods.[2]

Inscription from Calakh, 717 B. C.

Sargon, the exalted prince, who in the environs of Dur-ilu with Khumbanigash, king of Elam, fought, and accomplished his defeat; who conquered the land of Judah, whose location is distant; who destroyed Hamath; whose hands have taken its prince Yaubi'di prisoner.[3]

Cylinder Inscription, 713 B. C.

[Sargon] who conquered the broad Bit-Khumria, who at Rapikhi (Raphia) accomplished the defeat of Musri, and carried Hanno, king of Gaza, prisoner to the city of Asshur.[4]

[1] Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 96 ff; II, p. 30 f.
[2] See note 1, p. 43.
[3] Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, 168; II, 48.
[4] Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

Campaign against Ashdod, 711 B. C.

Is. 20

Azuri, king of Ashdod, planned in his heart to bring no more tribute, and sent to the kings of his vicinity to stir up enmity against Assyria. Because of the evil he had done I removed his lordship over the people of the land, and appointed his brother Akhimiti to the kingship over them. But the Hittites, planning evil, hated his rule, raised to the throne Yamani, who had no claim to it, who, like them, knew no reverence for authority. In the anger of my heart I did not collect the mass of my troops, I did not rally my forces. With my soldiers who did not depart from my side, in the place where I was staying, I marched against Ashdod. Yamani, who heard from afar the approach of my column, fled to the borders of Egypt, which lies before Melucha, and was seen no more. Ashdod, Gimtu (Gath), Ashdudimmu I besieged, I conquered. I seized as booty his gods, his wife, his sons and daughters, possessions and goods, the treasures of his palaces, together with the people of his land. Those cities I took again, and I caused to dwell in them people of the lands, which were the spoil of my hands, from the lands of the East. I set my officers over them, I added them to the people of Assyria, they gave obedience. The king of Melukha who among . . . an inaccessible place, a road . . . whose fathers for a long time, since the epoch of the Moon god, had sent no ambassadors to the kings, my fathers, to pay respects, he heard afar of the power of Ashur, Nabu, and Marduk; the fear of my royal majesty covered him, and terror was poured over him. He cast him into bonds and fetters of iron, and they brought him before me in Assyria — a long journey.[1]

[1] Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, 114 f., II, 33 f.

Another Account of the Campaign against Ashdod

Is. 20

In the ninth (Annals — eleventh) year of my reign I marched to the . . . coast of the great sea . . . Azuri king of Ashdod . . . Akhimeti . . . his twin brother I raised to rule over them . . . tribute and taxes of my lordship like those of. . . . They placed on the throne over them Yamani a soldier . . . to punish the people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab, those who live by the sea, and brought tribute and presents to Ashur my lord. Planning hostilities to rebel against me, they sent their presents to Pir'u, king of Egypt, a prince who could not help them, that he might set himself in hostility to me, they invited him into a confederation. I, Sargon, the legitimate ruler, who honors the oath of Nabu and Marduk, and guards the name of Ashur, I sent my troops across the Tigris and Euphrates at the time of flood, Yamani, their king, who had trusted to his own power, heard afar the advance of my column. The fear of Ashur, my lord, cast him down, to . . . which is on the banks of the river . . . his land . . . far away . . . he fled . . . Ashdod.[1]

Sennacherib, 704–682 B. C.

2 *K.* 18–19; 2 *Chr.* 32; *Is.* 36–37

Sargon's son and successor was Sennacherib, in whose reign Merodach-Baladan again became troublesome. After establishing himself in Babylon, Merodach-Baladan sent an embassy to Hezekiah of Judah to congratulate him on his recovery from illness (2 K.

[1] Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, 186 f., II 44 f. There is another account of this same campaign, but too fragmentary for any practical use.

20: 12 ff., and Is. 39), and especially to stir up trouble for Sennacherib. This brought down upon him the wrath of the Assyrian king, who attacked and defeated him.

Meanwhile the West was again in a state of rebellion. Hezekiah of Jerusalem, the conqueror of the Philistines (2 K. 18), and fortifier of Jerusalem (2 K. 20; 2 Chr. 32) was looking toward Egypt for help against Assyria. So were the Phoenicians and the Philistines. Ekron even went so far as to imprison its Assyrian-appointed king Padi. Sennacherib was not slow to appreciate the situation and came West in 701 B. C. The allies, led by Luli of Sidon and Tyre and Hezekiah of Judah, were defeated. First Ekron was destroyed, then 46 cities of the Judean Shephelah, and, finally, after the capture of Lachish, Jerusalem was besieged. Before much progress was made, however, Sennacherib was called off by troubles at home. It seems that Sennacherib made a second attempt to reduce Jerusalem, but without success. In 681 he met his death at the hands of assassins in his own country (cf. 2 K. 19: 37).

CAMPAIGN AGAINST JERUSALEM. TAYLOR PRISM, 701 B. C.

2 K. 18–19; *2 Chr.* 22; *Is.* 36–37

In my third campaign I marched against the Land of the Hittites. The fear of the splendor of my dominion overwhelmed Luli king of Sidon, and he fled far away on the sea and died. Sidon, the great, Sidon the less, Bit-Zitte, Sariptu (Zarephath), Makhalliba, Usher, Akzib, and Akku (Akko), his strong cities, defended by walls, provisioned and provided with water, his garrison cities, the might of the arms of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them, and they bowed

at my feet. I placed Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) upon the royal throne over them, and fixed upon him yearly and unchanging taxes and tribute for my dominion. Minkhimmu (Menahem) of Shamsimuruna, Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) of Sidon, Abdili'ti of Arvad (Arados), Urumilki of Gebal (Byblus), Mitinti of Ashdod, Budu'ilu of Bit-Ammanaa (Bit-Ammon), Kammusunadbi of Moab, Malik-rammu of Edom, all kings of the Amurru-country, districts of great extent, brought rich presents before me, for the fourth time and kissed my feet.

But Sidqa, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, his seed of his father's house I carried away, and brought him to Assyria. Sharruludari, son of Rukib-tu, their former king, I appointed over the people of Ashkelon, and the payment of taxes, presents, to my dominion, I laid upon him, that he might bear my yoke.

In the course of my campaign I besieged Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Benebarqa, Azuru, cities of Sidqa, which had not quickly submitted to my feet, I captured them and carried off their booty. The governors, princes, and people of Ekron, who had cast Padi, their king, into iron fetters, who had been faithful to the commands and compact of Assyria, and had given him over to Hezekiah of Judah in a hostile manner — their hearts feared. They summoned the kings of Musri, the bowman, chariots, and horses of the king of Melukhkha, forces without number, and they came to their help. In the neighborhood of Altaqu their line of battle was drawn up against me, their arms they consecrated. With the help of Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and accomplished their defeat. The commanders of the chariots, and the sons of the king of Musri with the commanders of the chariots of the king of Melukhkha my hands captured alive in battle. I besieged and captured Altaqu, and Tamna (Timnath) and carried away their booty.

I drew near to Amkaruna (Ekron). I slew the governors and princes who had committed sin, and hung their bodies on poles around the city. Citizens who had committed wickedness and offence I counted as spoil. I proclaimed pardon to the rest of them who had not committed sin and wickedness [and] in whom no guilt was found. Padi, their king, I brought out of Jerusalem, and set him on the throne of dominion over them, and the tribute of my dominion I laid upon him. And of Hezekiah, the Judaean, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 strong cities, with walls, the smaller cities which were around them, without number, by the battering of rams and the assault of engines the attack of foot-soldiers, mines, breaches, and axes, I besieged and captured them. 200,150 men, young, old, male, female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number I brought forth from them and counted as booty. [Hezekiah] himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem his royal city. I cast up entrenchments against him, and whomsoever came forth from the gates of the city I punished him. His cities which I had plundered, I separated from his land, and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Amqaruna, and Sil-bel, king of Gaza, and diminished his land. Beside the former taxes, paid yearly, I added the tribute and presents of my dominion, and laid these upon them. As for Hezekiah, the fear of the majesty of my dominion overwhelmed him and the Urbi, and his regular troops, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his royal city, deserted. With 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, stibium, *uknu*-stones, couches of ivory, seats of ivory, elephant-hide, ivory, *ushu* and *ukarinnu*-wood, diverse objects, a heavy treasure, and his daughters, the women of his palace, male musicians, female musicians, he despatched after me to Nineveh, my capital city. He sent his ambassador to give tribute and make submission.[1]

[1] I R., 37–42.

Another Account of the Campaign of 701 B. C.

The kingdom from Luli, king of Sidon, I took away; I seated Tuba'lu on his throne and laid on him tribute of my dominion; I destroyed the broad district of Judah; I laid my yoke upon Hezekiah its king; the people of Tumur, who inhabit a steep mountain, I overwhelmed with arms; the city of Ukku, with all its dwellings, I destroyed like the mound of a deluge; the people of Khilakki, inhabitants of the hill country, I destroyed with arms; their cities, I destroyed, wasted, burned with fire; I conquered Tilgarimmu (Togarmah?), of the border of Tabal, and turned it into arable land.[1]

Sennacherib at Lachish, 701 B. C.

Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, seated himself on the throne and the prisoners of Lachish marched before him.[2]

Sennacherib's Campaign against Arabia, c. 688 B. C.

. . . Telkhunu, the queen of Arabia, in the midst of the desert, from her I took away 1000 camels. The fear of my dominion cast her down, and likewise Khazail. They left their tents and fled to Adummatu, whose location is in the desert, a thirsty place where there is neither provision nor places to drink.[3]

Herodotus on Sennacherib's Egyptian Campaign

The next king was a priest of Hephaistos, called Sethos. This monarch despised and neglected the warrior class of

[1] I R., 43.
[2] Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, II, pl. 23.
[3] Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I, pp. 73 ff.

the Egyptians, as though he did not need their services. Among other indignities, he went so far as to take from them the lands which they had possessed under all the previous kings, consisting of twelve acres of choice land for each warrior. Afterward, therefore, when Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched his vast army into Egypt, the warriors one and all refused to come to his (Sethos) aid. On this the priest, greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary, and before the image of the god bewailed his impending fate. As he wept he fell asleep, and dreamed that the god came and stood at his side, bidding him to be of good cheer, and go boldly forth to meet the Arabian host, which would do him no hurt, as he himself would send him help. Sethos, then, relying on the dream, collected such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, who were none of them warriors, but traders, artisans, and market people; and with these he marched to Pelusium, where the passes are by which the country is entered, and there pitched his camp. As the two armies lay there opposite one another there came in the night a multitude of field-mice which devoured all the quivers and bow-strings of the enemy and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning they commenced their flight and great multitudes were slain as they had no arms with which to defend themselves. There stands to this day in the temple of Vulcan a stone statue of Sethos, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me and learn to reverence the gods." (Herodotus, II, 141.)

Polyhistor and Abydenus on Sennacherib

And after all the other exploits of Sennacherib he adds the following: "He remained in power eighteen years and died by the hand of his son Ardumuzanus, in an uprising." These things says Polyhistor.

From Abydenus concerning Sennacherib. At this time

we find Sennacherib, who was the twenty-fifth at least in the succession of kings. He reduced Babylon beneath his sway. . . .

After the reign of Sennacherib's brother, Akises became king over the Babylonians. He reigned less than thirty days, being murdered by Merodach-Baladan, who then forcibly held the kingdom for six months. Baldanus (Merodach-Baladan) was killed by a certain Elibus, who then became king. In the third year of the reign of Elibus, Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, gathered an army together against the Babylonians, defeated them in battle, and ordered the captive king and his friends to be led into Assyria. Having subdued the Babylonians, he set up his son Asordanius as king, withdrawing himself and proceeding to Assyria. After him there ruled Nergilus, who was cut off by his son Adramelus. Adramelus was killed in turn by Axerdis, who was his brother on his father's, though not on his mother's side. He pursued the army to Byzantium and there shut it up. (Eusebii, Chron. I, ed. Schoene, Berlin, 1875.)

Esarhaddon, 680–668 B. C.

2 K. 19:37; *Is.* 37:38; *Ezra* 4:2

Esarhaddon had other visions than his forefathers. Now that Phoenicia, Syria, and Palestine were conquered he turned his attention to Egypt. · True, he made a campaign against Tyre and Sidon, and he mentions many western vassals, among whom was Manasseh of Judah, but his interest was in Egypt. His first attempt to conquer Egypt was made in 673 B. C. He failed because he had not laid his plans with sufficient care. In 670, however, he was successful and conquered the Egyptian king Taharka (Tirhaka), taking Memphis and making the Delta an Assyrian

province. Esarhaddon was compelled to return home because of internal affairs, and in the meantime the Egyptians rebelled. He was thus forced to set out again on another expedition, during which he died in 668 B. C.

PRISM A

[Esarhaddon] the conqueror of the city of Sidon, which lies in the midst of the sea; he who overwhelmed all its houses; its walls, its dwellings I tore down, cast them into the sea, and made the place where they stood a ruin. Abd-milkot its king, who had fled into the sea before my arms, I drew like a fish out of the sea and cut off his head. His treasures and goods, gold, silver, precious stones, elephant hide, ivory, *ushu*-wood, *urkarinu*-wood, colored cloth, and cloth of every kind, precious things of his palace, I plundered in a mass; its people without number, cattle, sheep, and asses I carried away to Assyria. I collected the kings of the Hittite country, and all those of the sea-coast. A city in another place I created and called its name Kar-Esar-haddon. The people, the spoil of my bow, from the hill country and from the Eastern Sea, I settled there, and over them I set my officials as governors.

Adumu, a fortress of Aribi, which Sennacherib king of Assyria, my father, my begetter, had captured, and brought its gods to Assyria; Hazael, king of Aribi came with a heavy tribute to Nineveh, my residence, and kissed my feet; he pleaded for the gift of his gods. I showed him favor, and repaired the broken parts of those gods; the power of Ashur, my lord, as well as my name, I inscribed upon them and gave them back to him. Tabua, born in my palace, I set over them in dominion, and with her gods, gave her back to her land. I added 65 camels to the tax of my fathers, and put them upon him. After that Hazael's fate carried him off and I put Ya'lu his son upon his throne, and added to his father's taxes ten mina of gold, 1000 precious stones,

50 camels, 1000 measures of spices, and put them upon him.[1]

Prism B

2 *K.* 21

(Esarhaddon is not mentioned in this chapter but in 2 K. 19: 37, Is. 37: 38. Cf. Ezra 4: 2).

The armory which the former kings, my fathers, had built for camp equipments and for shields for the horses, mules, chariots, weapons, arms of battle, the spoil of enemies, everything which Ashur, the king of the gods, bestowed upon me as my royal share; to care for the horses, and to drive in the chariots. . . . I made the inhabitants of the lands, the booty of my bow, carry the bag and basket, and make bricks. That small building I tore down in its entirety. A large piece of land I took from the field as a building place and added it. With *pili*-stones, a stone of the mountains . . . I built a terrace. I demanded of the kings of the land of the Hittites, and of those beyond the sea, of Ba'al, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, Kaush-gabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Sil-bel, king of Gaza, Mitinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milkiashapa, king of Byblus, Matanba'al, king of Arvad, Abiba'al, king of Samsimuruna, Buduil, king of Bit-Ammon, Akhimilki, king of Ashdod, twelve kings of the sea-coast, Ekishtura, king of Idalion, Pilagura, king of Chytrus, Kisu, king of Sillua, Ituandar, king of Paphos, Eresu, king of Sillu, Damasu, king of Kuri, Atmezu, king of Tamesu, Damusi, king of Qartihadasti, Unasagusu, king of Lidir, Busutus, king of Nurenu, ten kings of Cyprus, in the midst of the sea; in all 22 kings of the land of the Hittites, of the sea-coast, and of the midst of the sea, I demanded great beams of them all. . . .[2]

[1] I R. 45–47.

[2] III R. 15–16 (See R. F. Harper, *Hebraica*, III, 177–185).

Campaign against Arabia and Egypt, 670 B. C.

In my tenth campaign [Ashur gave me confidence, and I marched my troops to Magan and Melukhkha], and [turned] my face [to the land of . . .] which in the tongue of the people of Kush and Egypt is called. . . . I called out the numerous troops of Ashur, which are in the. . . . In the month of Nisan, the first month, I left my city of Asshur. I crossed the Tigris and Euphrates at high flood, and climbed high mountains like a wild ox. In the course of my campaign I created siege works against Ba'al, king of Tyre, who had trusted in Tarqu, king of Kush, his friend, and had shaken off the yoke of Ashur, my lord, and had expressed defiance of me, I cut off from him food and drink, the means of life.

From Egypt I broke camp and marched to Melukhkha, 30 *biru* of land from the city of Apku, which lies in the territory of the land of Samena, to the city of Raphia, by the side of the brook of Egypt, a place where there is no river, in . . . necessity and want, I made my troops drink well water from jugs.

When the command of Ashur, my lord, came to my ears . . . camels of the kings of Aribi [without number I took from them], 20 *biru* of land, a journey of 15 days . . . I marched. Four *biru* of land, a journey of two days. . . . Marduk, the great lord, came to my help . . . he revived my troops, 20 days, seven . . . in the territory of the land of Ma-gan I remained.[1]

Ashurbanipal, 668–625 B. C.

The chief claim of Ashurbanipal (Old Testament Asnapper, Ezra 4: 10; Greek and Latin Sardanapalus) to renown is the fact that he was a great lover of

[1] R. W. Rogers, *Two Texts of Esarhaddon;* III R. 35, No. 4.

literature and founded the famous library from whose stores we derive a large percentage of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature, art, and science. His military powers, however, must not be overlooked, for besides bringing about the surrender of Tyre, among other Western towns, he brought to a successful close the Egyptian war begun by his father, and remained supreme in Egypt till 660 B. C.

Troubles at home engrossed his attention for many years and finally in 647 he became king of Babylon. These duties naturally gave the Egyptians a chance to revolt and in 661–655 the Nubian rulers returned to Thebes, and the Assyrians were forced to retire.

Ashurbanipal at Akko, c. 645 B. C.

On my return I captured Ushu, which lies on the coast of the sea. The inhabitants of Ushu, who were disobedient to their governor (and) had not paid their tribute, I smote them as the tribute of their land. Among the rebellious people I set up judgment. Their gods and their people as booty I carried to Assyria. The people of Akko who were rebellious I reduced, their bodies I hung on poles around the city; the remainder I brought to Assyria. I chose them for my army, and added them to the numerous troops, which Ashur had presented to me.[1]

[1] V R. 1–10.

THE NEW BABYLONIAN AND PERSIAN PERIODS

Nebuchadrezzar, 604–562 B. C.

2 K. 24–25; *2 Chr.* 36; *Jer.* 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 32, 34, 37–39; *Ez.* 26, 29; *Dan.* 1–4

Nebuchadrezzar was a great builder and architect, and consequently most of his inscriptions deal with building operations. We know, however, from Biblical sources that he interfered in Judean affairs, and this is confirmed by some of his inscriptions.

Jehoiakim, against the advice of Jeremiah, revolted and Jerusalem was besieged in 597. Jehoiakim died in the meantime and Jehoiachin, his successor, surrendered and was taken with many other captives to Babylonia and settled in a place near the canal Kebar near Nippur. About a decade later Hophra (Apries) of Egypt induced Judah and some other small neighboring states to revolt. This called down the wrath of Nebuchadrezzar who laid siege to Jerusalem in 587, and although he was called off to defeat Hophra succeeded in returning and capturing the city in 586 B. C. Zedekiah was taken captive to Riblah, where his eyes were put out, and Gedaliah was made governor of the city.

Nebuchadrezzar then subjected Tyre to a thirteen years' siege which failed in 573. He also attempted an invasion of Egypt which likewise was unsuccessful.

A Western Campaign, 601 B. C.

. . . paths of the mountain . . . way of death. Arms . . . inhabitants of the Hittite country, in the month of Airu, of the third year of [Nebuchadrezzar king of] Babylon opposed his troops. [Nebuchadrezzar] summoned his troops, in thirteen days to [the Hittite country] he marched. Of the people inhabiting Ammanu (Anti-Lebanon) . . . their heads he beat off . . . [upon poles] he hung . . . to . . . he brought.[1]

East India House Inscription

In profound confidence in him (Marduk), distant lands, far away mountains, from the upper sea to the lower sea, steep paths, closed roads, where the step is confined, [where] there was no place for food, difficult roads, thirsty roads have I passed through, destroyed the rebellious, captured enemies, ruled the lands, permitted the people to flourish, [but] the bad and evil have I put away among the people.[2]

Wadi Brissa Inscription

From the upper sea (Mediterranean) to the lower sea . . . which Marduk the lord had intrusted to me, among all the lands, the totality of dwelling places, I exalted Babylon to the first place. Among the cities . . . [I caused] her name to be praised. The sanctuaries of Nabu and Marduk, my lords, . . . continually . . . at that time . . . the Lebanon, the cedar mountains, the proud forest of Marduk, the scent of the cedars is pleasant, its product. The festival of another god . . . no other king. . . . My god Marduk, the king for the palace of princes . . . of heaven and earth was suited for adornment. As an enemy,

[1] Strassmaier, *Hebraica*, IX, p. 5.
[2] I R. 53–58, 59–64.

a stranger, had taken possession of (the mountain), and had removed its products, its inhabitants had fled and gone far away. With the power of Nabu and Marduk, my lords, I ordered my troops to march to the Lebanon. The enemy, above and below, I drove out, and made the heart of the land to rejoice, its scattered people I gathered and brought them back to their place. That which no former king had accomplished (I did); I cleaved the high mountains, lime-stone I broke off (and) opened trails. I cut a road for the cedars and before Marduk, my king (I brought) massive, tall, strong cedars, of wonderful beauty, whose dark appearance was impressive, the mighty products of the Lebanon. . . .

The people in the Lebanon I made to dwell in peace and safety. I permitted no disturber to possess [the land]. That none may produce confusion I have set up my royal image for ever.[1]

NEBUCHADREZZAR'S CAMPAIGN, AGAINST EGYPT, 567 B. C.

Gula who slays my foes . . . the queen who endowed me with strength of heart and might of hand and consoles me, who causes . . . of my reign to be increased. . . . In the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, [the king of Egypt] came up to do battle and Amasis, king of Egypt, called out his troops . . . numerous troops which were in Egypt . . . to his aid he called . . . and before him to make [war] he trusted . . . he accomplished their defeat and . . . the destruction. . . .[2]

The account of Nebuchadrezzar's mission to Egypt and the West, as given by Berossos, ought to be read

[1] *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. 28 (Langdon).

[2] TSBA VII, 210–225; Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte*, VI, No. 329.

here. See Whiston's translation of Josephus, edited by Shilleto, London, 1890. Vol. V, pp. 192–193.

Successors of Nebuchadrezzar

Nebuchadrezzar was succeeded by a line of weak and unimportant kings, among them being Amel-Marduk (the Biblical Evil-Merodach, 2 K. 25: 27 ff.), his son, who liberated Jehoiachin. A priestly plot placed Nabuna'id (Nabonidus) on the throne. He was neither warrior nor statesman but an antiquarian, and as such has proved himself a great servant of Science. Among other things he has left a record which seems to show, unless the calculation of the scribes be wrong, that Naram-Sin reigned 3,200 years before his time. Meanwhile his son, Bel-shar-usur (the Biblical Belshazzar, Dan. 5), was caring for the government.

There were, however, great events happening while the scholar-king was carrying on his investigations. Cyaxeres the Mede had extended his conquests as far as Lydia in the West. In 550 Cyrus of Anshan captured Ecbatana, destroyed the Median power, and defeated Croesus in 546, and by the end of 545 all Asia Minor was under Persian rule. In 538 B. C. Cyrus met Bel-shar-usur in battle and defeated him, and a few days later Babylon surrendered without resistance to Gobryus, one of the generals of Cyrus.

As inscriptions and contract tablets show, Cyrus was immediately succeeded by his son Cambyses, and there is no place left for a "Darius the Mede" as ruler of Babylonia.

An Inscription of Nabuna'id

Nabuna'id, king of Babylon, supporter of E-sagila, and E-zida, who fears the great gods, am I. Here follow an account of his buildings and also a prayer to Sin, lord of the gods in which he says: "As for Bel-shar-usur (Belshazzar), the first-born son, the issue of my body, do thou implant in his heart the fear of thy great divinity. Let him not turn unto sinning. Let him be satisfied with the fulness of life." [1]

The Cylinder of Cyrus

2 *Chr.* 36:22*ff*; *Ezra* 1; *Is.* 44–45; *Dan.* 6:10

This inscription relates how Marduk, king of the gods, and god of Babylon "sought a righteous prince after his own heart" to rule over Babylonia. This prince was Cyrus, king of Anshan, whom he appointed to "lordship over the whole world." He permitted him to enter Babylon "without battle and conflict" and thus "spared his city Babylon a calamity." Nabonidus, the king, who did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. Then follows a description of the might of Cyrus. He continues: "Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced in my pious deeds, and graciously blessed me, Cyrus the king who worships him, and *Cambyses my own son*, and all my troops. . . . All the kings dwelling in palaces, of all the quarters of the earth, from the Upper to the lower sea . . . all the kings of the West-land dwelling in tents brought me their heavy tribute, and in Babylon kissed my feet. . . . And the gods of Sumer and Akkad, whom Nabuna'id, to the anger of the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon, by

[1] I R. 68, No. 1.

command of Marduk, the great lord, I caused them peacefully to take up their dwelling in habitations that rejoiced the heart." [1]

Contract Tablets

Ezra 4, 6, 7; *Neh.* 2

Although there are no inscriptions of any length that give us a full picture of the life of the Jews during the Babylonian exile, yet there is a vast number of contract tablets which throw a good deal of light upon the life and work of the Jewish people in the land of the Euphrates. They are not, however, historically important enough to use in this work.

From the time of Nebuchadrezzar to the end of the reign of Darius I, 604–485, we have nearly 4,000 contract tablets; from Artaxerxes I, 464–424, and Darius II, 424–404, there are numerous tablets which contain Jewish names. These contracts show us that Jews owned land, possessed capital, and were active members of the communities in which they lived. They also retained their peculiar religious practices, and especially their loyalty to Jehovah, as many names show.

[1] V. R.[2] 35.

CHRONOLOGICAL MATTER

Babylonian and Assyrian chronology, which has been so useful in determining Biblical chronology, is established by scholars on the basis of the rich Babylonian King Lists and Chronicles; Assyrian Eponym Lists and Eponym Chronicles; and the Ptolemaic Canon. These I give here that the student may be able to construct Biblical Chronology for himself.

The Babylonian King List B[1]

Obverse		*Reverse*
	YEARS	
Su-mu-a-bi	15	Uru-azag (ki) Ilu-ma-ilu,
Su-mu-la-ilu	35	king
Za-bu-u, son of the former	14	Ki-an-ni-bi
A-bil-sin, son of the former	18	Dam-ki-ili-shu
Sin-mu-bal-lit, son of the former	30	Ish-ki-pal
Kha-am-mu-ra-bi, son of the former	55	Shu-ush-shi
Sa-am-su-i-lu-na, son of the former	35	Gul-ki-shar
E-bi-shum, son of the former	25	Kir-gal-dara-mash, son of
Am-mi-di-ta-na, son of the former	25	the former
Am-mi-sa-dug-ga, son of the former	22	A-dara-kalam-ma, son of
Sa-am-su-di-ta-na, son of the former	31	the former
		A-kur-ul-an-na
		Me-lam-kur-kur-ra
		E-a-ga-mil
11 kings, Dynasty of Babylon		10 kings, Dynasty of Uru-azag (ki)

[1] Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1880, p. 20 f.

The Babylonian King List A[1]

Column I:	*Column II:*
11 names broken off, to be supplied from List B	About 13 names broken off
	22 . . . . .
. . . 11 kings, dynasty of Babylon	26 Nazi-maruttash
60 Ilu-ma (ilu)	17 Ka-dash-man-tur-gu
55 Ki-an (-ni-bi)	+ 2 Ka-dash-man-Buriash
36 Damki-ili (-shu)	6 Ku-dur-En-lil, his son
15 Ish-ki (-pal)	13 Sha-ga-rak-ti-sur-ia-ash
27 Shu-ush-shi-akh	8 Kash-til-iash, his son
55 Gul-ki (-shar)	1½ En-lil-nadin-shum
50 Kir-gal (-dara-mash)	1½ Ka-dash-man-khar-be
28 Ai-dara- (kalam-ma), son of the former	6 Adad-shum-iddin
26 E-kur-ul (-an-na)	30 Adad-shum-nasir
7 Me-lam-ma (-kur-kur-ra)	15 Me-li-shi-khu
9 (ilu) Ea-ga (-mil)	17 Marduk-aplu-iddin, his son
368, 11 kings, dynasty of Uru-azag	1 Zamama-shum-iddin 3 En-lil-nadin-akhi
16 Kan-dash	576 years, 9 months, 36 kings, dy . . .
22 A-gu-um-si, his son	
22 Kash-til-ia-shi	
8 Ush-shi, his son	17 Marduk . . .
. . Abi-rat-tash	6 . . . . .
Tash-zi-guru-mash	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	

Column IV	*Column III*
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . Nabu-shum-ishkun	. . . . .
. . . . Nabu-nasir	. . . . .
. . . 2 Nabu-nadin-zer, his son	. . . . .
1 mo. 12 days. Nabu-shum-ukin, his son	22 . . . . .
	1 yr. 6 mos. Marduk-shum

[1] Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1884, pp. 193 ff.

Column IV	*Column III*
	13 Marduk-zer
22 Dynasty e.	9 Nabu-shum-libur
3 Ukin-zer. Dynasty of Shi-i	132, 2 mo., 11 kings. Dynasty Pashe
2 Pulu	
5 U-lu-la-ai. Dynasty Ti-nu	
12 Marduk-aplu-iddin. Dy. Sea-land	18 Sim-mash-shikhu
5 Sharru-ukin	5 mos. Ea-mu-kin-zer
2 Sin-akhi-erba. Dy. Kha-bi-gal	3 Kash shu-u-nadin-akhi
1 mo. Marduk-za-kir-shum, son of Arad	21, 5 mos., 3 kings. Dynasty of Sea-land
9 mos. Marduk-aplu-iddin, Sab Khabi	
3 Bel-ibni. Dy. e.	17 E-du-bar-shakin-shum
6 Ashur-nadin-shum. Dy. Kha-bi-gal	3 Ninib-kudur-usur
1 Nergal-ushezib	3 mos. Shi-la-nim-shu-ka-muna
4 Mushezib-Marduk. Dy. e.	20, 3 mos., 3 kings. Dy. Bit-Bazi
8 Sin-akhi-erba	
. . . Ashun-akhi-iddin	6 . . . . . (ilu)? . . .
. . . Shamash-shum-ukin	16 . . . . .
. . . Kan-dal-anu	8 mos., 12 days
[The rest is broken off]	[About 14 lines broken off]

The Babylonian Chronicle[1]

Column I

In the third year of Nabonassar, king of Babylon, Tiglath-Pileser took his seat on the throne in Assyria. In the same year he marched against Akkad and plundered the cities of Rapilu and Khamranu. The gods of the city of Shapazza he carried away.

During the reign of Nabonassar, Borsippa separated it-

[1] Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1884, pp. 193 ff.

self from Babylon. The battle of Nabonassar against Borsippa is not recorded.

In the fifth year of Nabonassar, Ummanigash took his seat on the throne in Elam.

In the fourteenth year Nabonassar became ill and died in his palace. Nabonassar reigned fourteen years in Babylon. Nadimu, his son, took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the second year Nadinu was killed in a revolt. Nadinu reigned two years in Babylon. Shumukin, a governor of a province, a rebel, took his seat on the throne. Two months, . . . days reigned Shumukin in Babylon. Ukinser . . . the throne . . . seized the throne.

In the third year of Ukinser, Tiglath-Pileser marched against Akkad. He laid Bit-Amukani waste and took Ukinser prisoner. Ukinser reigned three years in Babylon. Tiglath-Pileser took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the second year, in the month Tebet, Tiglath-Pileser died. Tiglath-Pileser reigned . . . years in Akkad and in Assyria; two years he reigned in Akkad. On the twenty-fifth day of Tebet, Shalmaneser took his seat on the throne in Assyria, and the city of Shabarain was destroyed.

In the fifth year, in the month Tebet, Shalmaneser died. Shalmaneser reigned five years in Akkad and in Assyria. On the twelfth day of Tebet, Sargon took his seat on the throne in Assyria. In Nisan Merodach-Baladan took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the second year of Merodach-Baladan, Ummanigash, king of Elam, fought a battle with Sargon, king of Assyria, in the district of Dur-ilu. He accomplished the defeat of Assyria and slew many. Merodach-Baladan, who had come to the help of the king of Elam, did not come in time for the battle, but marched behind.

In the fifth year of Merodach-Baladan, Ummanigash, king of Elam, died. Ummanigash reigned . . . years in Elam. Ishtar-Khundu, son of his sister, took his seat on

the throne in Elam. From the beginning of the reign of Merodach-Baladan to the tenth year [Sargon] was at enmity with Merodach-Baladan.

In the tenth year of Merodach-Baladan Bit-Dakuri was laid waste and its goods taken away.

Column II

In the twelfth year of Merodach-Baladan Sargon marched against Akkad, and gave battle to Merodach-Baladan. Merodach-Baladan fled to Elam, at the head of his nobles. Merodach-Baladan reigned twelve years in Babylon. Sargon took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the thirteenth year Sargon took the hand of Bel and captured Dur-Yakin.

In the fourteenth year the king remained in the country.

In the fifteenth year, on the twenty-second day of Teshrit, the gods of the Sea-Land came back to their place. There were epidemics in Assyria.

In the sixteenth year Sargon marched against Tabal.

[Here nine lines are wanting.]

The Babylonians were not scattered. The territory . . . he . . . Merodach-Baladan . . . his land was plundered. . . . After he had fortified Larak and Sharraba . . . he placed Bel-ibni on the throne in Babylon.

In the first year of Bel-ibni, Sennacherib destroyed the cities of Khirimma and Khararatu.

In the third year of Bel-ibni, Sennacherib marched against Akkad and plundered Akkad. Bel-ibni and his nobles were taken away to Assyria. Bel-ibni reigned three years in Babylon. Sennacherib set Ashur-nadin-shum, his son, on the throne in Babylon.

In the first year of Ashur-nadin-shum Ishtar-Khundu, king of Elam, was seized by his brother Khallushu and cast into prison. Ishtar-Khundu reigned eighteen years in

Elam. Khallushu, his brother, took his seat on the throne in Elam.

In the sixth year of Ashur-nadin-shum, Sennacherib marched down against Elam, destroyed the cities of Nagitu, Khilmu, Pillatu, Khupapanu and plundered them. Afterward Khullushu, king of Elam, marched against Akkad, and at the end of Teshrit entered Sippar and put the inhabitants to death. Shamash did not leave E-barra. Ashur-nadin-shum was taken prisoner and led away to Elam. Ashur-nadin-shum reigned six years in Babylon. The king of Elam set Nergal-ushezib on the throne in Babylon, and accomplished the defeat of Assyria.

In the first year of Nergal-ushezib, on the sixteenth day of Tammuz, Nergal-ushezib took Nippur . . . on the first day of Teshrit, the Assyrians entered Uruk.

Column III

The gods of Uruk and its inhabitants were plundered. Nergal-ushezib united with the Elamites, and its inhabitants were taken away. On the seventh day of Teshrit he fought against the Assyrians in the district of Nippur; he was taken prisoner in battle and carried away to Assyria. Nergal-ushezib reigned one year and six months in Babylon. On the twenty-sixth day of Teshrit the people rebelled against Khallushu, king of Elam, imprisoned him and killed him. Khallushu reigned six years in Elam. Kudur took his seat on the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib marched down against Elam, laid it waste from Rashi to Bet-Burnaki and carried away booty. Mushezib-Marduk took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the first year of Mushezib-Marduk, on the eighth day of Ab, Kudur, king of Elam, was taken captive in a revolt and killed. Kudur reigned ten months in Elam. Menanu took his seat on the throne in Elam. In an unknown year he collected the forces of Elam and the Babylonians, offered

battle to the Assyrians in Khalule and conquered the Assyrians.

In the fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk, on the fifteenth day of Nisan, Menanu, king of Elam, suffered with a stroke, his mouth was closed and he could not speak. On the first day of Kishlev, the city (Babylon) was captured, Mushezib-Marduk was taken prisoner and carried away to Assyria. Mushezib-Marduk reigned four years in Babylon. On the seventh day of Adar, Menanu, king of Elam, died. Menanu reigned four years in Elam. Khummakhaldash took his seat on the throne in Elam.

In the eighth year (i.e., for eight years) there was no king in Babylon. On the third day of Tammuz, the gods of Uruk returned from Eridu to Uruk. On the twenty-third day of Teshrit, Khummakhaldash, king of Elam, was smitten with fever, and died in the attack of fever. Khummakhaldash reigned eight years in Elam. Khummakhaldash the second took his seat on the throne in Elam. On the twentieth day of Tebet, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son in a revolt. Sennacherib reigned twenty-three years in Assyria. From the twentieth day of Tebet until the second day of Adar the revolt continued in Assyria. On the eighteenth day of Adar, Esarhaddon, his son, took his seat on the throne in Assyria.

In the first year of Esarhaddon, Zeru-kinish-lishir of the Sea-Land, after he . . . against Ur . . . city and . . . fled before the nobles of Assyria and went to Elam. In Elam, the king of Elam took him prisoner and killed him with a weapon. In an unknown month in Nippur, the *guenna* official. . .

In the month of Elul the god Ka-di and the other gods of Dur-ilu returned to Dur-ilu. [The chief god and the other gods of Dur-Sharrukin] returned to Dur-Sharrukin. . . . In the month of Adar the head of. . . . In the second year the *rab-biti*. . .

Column IV

. . . -akhe-shullim, the *guenna* official, and . . . were brought to Assyria and killed in Assyria.

In the third (fourth?) year Sidon was captured and its booty carried away . . . the *rab-biti* made an assembly (census?) in Akkad.

In the fifth year, on the second day of Teshrit, the Assyrian army made an expedition against Bassa. In the month of Teshrit, the head of the king of Sidon was cut off and brought to Assyria. In the month of Adar, the heads of the kings of Kundu and Sisu were cut off and brought to Assyria.

In the sixth day, the king of Elam entered Sippar and made a massacre. Shamash did not leave E-barra. The Assyrian army marched against Egypt. . . . Khummakhaldash, king of Elam, died in his palace without being sick. Five years ruled Khummakhaldash in Elam. Urtagu, his brother, took his seat on the throne in Elam. In an unknown month Shum-iddin, the *guenna*, and Kudur of Bet-Dakuri were brought to Assyria.

In the seventh year, on the fifth day of Adar the Assyrian army entered Egypt. In the month of Adar, Ishtar of Agade and the other gods of Agade came from Elam and on the tenth day of Adar entered Agade.

In the eighth year of Esarhaddon, on the . . . day of Tebet the land of Shupri was conquered and its booty carried away. In the month of Kislev its booty reached Uruk. On the fifth day of Adar the king's wife died.

In the tenth year, in the month of Nisan, the army of Assyria marched against Egypt. On the third, sixteenth, and eighteenth days of Tammuz — three times — a battle was fought in Egypt. On the twenty-second day Memphis, its royal city, was captured, its king escaped, his sons and his brother were taken prisoners. Its booty was carried

away, the inhabitants were plundered, its goods were despoiled.

In the eleventh year, the king remained in Assyria. He put many nobles to death with weapons.

In the twelfth year, the king of Assyria marched against Egypt and fell ill on the way and died on the tenth day of Marcheshwan. Esarhaddon reigned twelve years in Assyria. Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon and Ashurbanipal in Assyria, his two sons, took their seats on the throne.

In the year of the beginning of the reign of Samash-shum-ukin, in the month of Iyyar, Bel and the gods of Akkad departed from Asshur, and on the twelfth day of Iyyar entered Babylon. In the same year the king of Kirbitu was captured. On the twentieth day of Tebet, Bel-etir was captured [in] Babylon and killed.

First part; read and prepared according to the archetype. Tablet of Ana-Bel-eresh, son of Liblutu, son of Kalab-Nannari for Ea-iddin the son of Ana-Bel-eresh, son of Kalab-Nannari. Babylon, the sixth day of the month . . . in the twenty-second year of Darius, king of Babylon and of the countries.

The Ptolemaic Canon [1]

Length of Reign	Names in Greek	Names in Babylonian	B.C.
14	Ναβονασσάρου	Nabu-nasir	747
2	Ναδίου	(Nabu)-nadin-(zir)	733
5	Χινζίρου καὶ Πώρου	Ukin-ziru.Plu	731
5	Ἰλουλαίου (var. Ἰουλαίου)	Ululai	726
12	Μαρδοκεμπάδου	Marduk-aplu-iddin	721
5	Ἀρκεάνου	Sharrukin	709
2	ἀβασιλεύτου πρώτου	(Sennacherib)	704
3	Βηλίβου	Bel-ibni	702
8	Ἀπαραναδίου	Ashur-nadin-shum	699
1	Ῥηγεβήλου (var. Ἠριγεβάλου)	Nergal-ushezib	693
4	Μεσησιμορδάκου	Mushezib-Marduk	692

[1] A. Deimel, *Veteris Testameti Chronologia*, Rome, 1912, p. 25.

The Ptolemaic Canon — *Continued*

Length of Reign	Names in Greek	Names in Babylonian	B.C.
8	Ἀβασιλεύτου δευτέρου		688
13	Ἀσαριδίνου	Ashur-akh-iddin	680
20	Σαοσδουχίνου (var. Σαοσδουχίνου)	Shamash-shum-ukin	667
22	Κινιλαναδάνου	Kandalanu	647
21	Ναβοπολασσάρου	Nabu-aplu-usur	625
43	Ναβοκολασσάρου	Nabu-kuduri-usur	604
2	Ἰλλοαρου-δάμου	Amel-Marduk	561
4	Νηρικασολασσάρου	Nergal-shar-usur	559
17	Ναβοναδίου	Nabu-na'id	555
	Περσῶν βασιλειῶν		
9	Κύρου		538
8	Καμβύσου		529
36	Δαρείου πρώτου		521
21	Ξέρξου		485
43	Ἀρταξέρξου πρώτου		464
19	Δαρείου δευτέρου		423
46	Ἀρταξέρξου δευτέρου		404
21	Ὤχου		358
2	Ἀγώγου (var. Ἀρωγοῦ)	(Arses)	337
4	Δαρείου τρίτου		335

The Assyrian Eponym List [1]

911–894 broken off
893 . . . Shar . . .
892 Ninib-sar . . .
891 Tab-etir-[Ashur]
890 Ashur-la-du?

889 Tukulti-Ninib, king
888 Tak-lak-ana-bil-ia
887 Abu-Malik
886 Ilu-mil-ki
885 Ia-ri-i
884 Ashur-shezibani

883 Ashur-nasir-apli, king
882 Ashur-iddin
881 Imuttiaku
880 Sha-(ilu) Ma-dam-ka
879 Da-gan-bel-nasir
878 Ninib-pi-ia-usur
877 Ninib-bel-usur
876 Shangu-Ashur-lil-bur
875 Shamash-upakhir
874 Mergal-bel-kumua
873 Kurdi-Ashur
872 Ashur-li'
871 Ashur-nat-kil
870 Be-mudammik
869 Dain-Ninib
868 Ishtar . . .
867 Shamash-nuri
866 Mannu-dam-ana-ili (?)
865 Shamash-bel-usur

[1] II R 68–69; III R I.

864 Ninib-Malik
863 Ninib-etiranni
862 Ashur-malik
861 Nergal-is-ka-u-danni-in
860 Tab-Bel
859 Shar-kalab-nishe

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858 Shul-ma-nu-asharidu (Shalmaneser), king
857 Ashur-bel-ukinni
856 Ashur-bania-usur
855 Abu-ina-ekal-lilbur
854 Dain-Ashur
853 Shamash-abua
852 Shamash-bel-usur
851 Bel-bania
850 Khadil-ebushu
849 Nergal-alik-pani
848 Bur (ilu) Ra-man (var. Ra-ma-na)
847 Ninib-mukir-nishe
846 Ninib-nadin-shum
845 Ashur-bania
844 Tab-Ninib
843 Tal-lak-ana-sharri
842 Adad-rimani
841 Bel-abua
840 Shulmu-bel-lamur
839 Ninib-kibsi-usur
838 Ninib-malik
837 Kurdi-Ashur
836 Shepa-shar
835 Nergal-mudamik
834 Yakhalu
833 Ululai
832 Sharpati-Bel
831 Nergal-malik
830 Khu-ba-a[i]
829 Ilu-mukin-akhi

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828 Shul-ma-nu-asharidu, king
827 Dain-Ashur
826 Ashur-bania-usur
825 Yakhalu
824 Bel-bania

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823 Shamshi-Adad, king
822 Yakhalu
821 Bel-dan
820 Ninib-ub-la
819 Shamash-malik
818 Nergal-malik
817 Ashur-bania-usur
816 Sharpati-Bel
815 Bel-balat
814 Mu-shik-nish
813 Ninib-asharidu
812 Shamash-kumua
811 Bel-kat-sabat

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810 Adad-nirari, king
809 Nergal-malik
808 Bel-dan
807 Sil-bel
806 Ashur-taklak
805 Ilu-ittia
804 Nergal-eresh
803 Ashur-kalab-nishe
802 Ninib-malik
801 Shepa-shar
800 Marduk-[shem-ani]
799 Mutakkil
798 Bel-tarsi-(ilu) ma
797 Ashur-bel-usur
796 Marduk-shadua
795 Kin-abua
794 Mannuki (matu) Ashur
793 Mushalim-Ninib
792 Bel-ikishani
791 Shepa-Shamash
790 Ninib-mukin-akhe
789 Adad-mushammir
788 Sil-Ishtar
787 Balatu

786 Adad-uballit
785 Marduk-shar-usur
784 Nabu-shar-usur
783 Ninib-nasir
782 (ilu) Ma-li'

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781 Shul-ma-nu-asharidu, king
780 Shamshi-ilu
779 Marduk-rimani
778 Bel-lishir
777 Nabu-ishid-ukin
776 Pan-Ashur-lamur (var. amaru)
775 Nergal-eresh
774 Ishtar-duri
773 Mannuki-Adad
772 Ashur-bel-usur

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771 Ashur-dan, king
770 Shamshi-ilu
769 Bel-malik
768 Apliya
767 Kurdi-Ashur
766 Mushallim-Ninib
765 Ninib-mukin-nishe
764 Sidki-ilu
763 Pur-(ilu)-sagale
762 Tab-Bel
761 Nabu-mukin-akhe
760 Lakibu
759 Pan-Ashur-lamur
758 Bal-taklak
757 Ninib-iddin
756 Bel-shadua
755 Kisu
754 Ninib-shezibani

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753 Ashur-nirari, king
752 Shamshi-ilu
751 Marduk-shallimani
750 Bel-dan
749 Shamash-DU–DU–SUN
748 Adad-bel-ukin
747 Sin-shallim-ani
746 Nergal-nasir

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745 Nabu-bel-usur
744 Bel-dan

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743 Tukulti-apil-esharra, king
742 Nabu-daninanni
741 Bel-kharran-bel-usur
740 Nabu-etiranni
739 Sin-taklak
738 Adad-bel-ukin
737 Bel-limuranni
736 Ninib-malik
735 Ashur-shallimanni
734 Bel-dan
733 Ashur-daninanni
732 Nabu-bel-usur
731 Nergal-uballit
730 Bel-ludari
729 Napkhar-ilu
728 Dur-Ashur

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727 Bel-kharran-bel-usur
726 Marduk-bel-usur
725 Makhde
724 Ashur-shemi
723 Shulman-asharidu, king

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722 Ninib-malik
721 Nabu-taris
720 Ashur-is-ka-udannin

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719 Sharru-ukin (Sargon), king (in Canon III)
718 Zer-bani
717 Tab-shar-Ashur
716 Tab-sil-esharra
715 Tak-lak-ana-bel
714 Ishtar-duri
713 Ashur-bani
712 Sharru-e-muranni
711 Ninib-alik-pani

710 Shamash-bel-usur
709 Mannuki-Ashur-li'
708 Shamash-upakhkhir
707 Sha-Ashur-du-(ub) bu
706 Mutakkil-Ashur

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705 Upakhkhir (ra)-Bel
(Canon II has Sin-akhi-erba, king)
704 Nabu-dini-ebush
703 Kan-nun-ai
702 Nabu-li'
701 Khananu
700 Metunu
699 Bel-Sharanni
698 Shulmu-shar
697 Nabu-dur-usur
696 Tab-bel
695 Ashur-bel-usur
694 Ilu-ittia
693 Nadin-akhi
692 Za (sa)-Za-(sa)-ai
691 Bel-limuranni
690 Nabu-nukin-akh
689 Gikhilu
688 Nadin-akhi

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687 Sin-akhi-erba (Sennacherib)
686 Bel-limuranni
685 Ashur-daninanni
684 Mannu-zir-ni
683 Mannuki-Adad
682 Nabu-shar-usur

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681 Nabu-akh-ere-esh (Esarhaddon took his seat on the throne)
680 Dana (a)-nu
679 Ishtu-Adad-aninu
678 Nergal-shar-usur
677 Abu-rama
676 Bam-ba
675 Nabu-akhi-iddin
674 Sharru-nuri
673 Atar-ilu
672 Nabu-bel-usur
671 Tebit-ai
670 Shulmu-bel-lashme
669 Shamash-Kashid-abi
668 Mar-larmi
667 Gabbaru
666 . . . ai
(lines wanting)
? Bel-na'idi
? Tab-shar-Sin
? Arba-ila
? Girsa-puna
? Lishir-Ashur

The Assyrian Eponym Chronicle with Notes[1]

860 . . . . . when Shul-ma-nu-asharidu (Shalmaneser), son of Ashurnazirpal, took his seat on the throne.

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859 In the eponym year of Sharru-kalab-nishe . . . against . . .
858 " " " " " Shul-ma-nu-asharidu, king of Assyria . . .
857 " " " " " Ahur-bel-ukin, the commander-in-chief . . .

[1] II R 52; Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, 2 Aufl.

856 In the eponym year of Ashur-bana-usur, the chief BI–LUB . . .
855 " " " " " Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur, the major-domo . . .
854 " " " " " Dain-Ashur, the commander-in-chief . . .
853 " " " " " Shamash-abua, the governor of the city of Nasibina (Nisibis).
852 " " " " " Shamash-bel-usur of the city of Kal-kha (Calakh) . . .
851 " " " " " Bel-bana, the major-domo . . .
850 " " " " " Khadil-ebushu of the city of . . .
849 " " " " " Nergal-alik-makhri . . .
848 " " " " " Bir(ilu) Ramana . . .

[Break in Tablet]

842 . . . . . sil.
841 . . . . . of the city of Akhi-(naru) sukhina. Against . . .
840 . . . . . of the land of Rasappa. Against the land of . . .
839 . . . . . of the city of Akhi- (naru) sukhina. Against the land of Danabi.
838 . . . . . of the land of Sal-lat (?). Against the land of Tabali
837 . . . . . of the land of Kirruri. Against the land of Melidi.
836 . . . . . of the city of Ninua (Nineveh). Against the land of Namri.
835 . . . . . the man Itu (?). Against the land of Kue.
834 . . . . . of the city of Kak-zi. Against the land of Kue. Against the land of Kue. The great god went out from Der.
833 . . . . . -na. Against the land of Urartu (Armenia)
832 . . . . . Against the land of Unki.

831 . . . . . Against the land of Ullabi.
830 . . . . . Against the land of Manna.
829 . . . . . a revolt
828 . . . . . a revolt
827 . . . . . a revolt
826 . . . . . a revolt

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825 . . . . . a revolt.
824 . . . . . a revolt.

[Break in Tablet]

817 In the eponym year of Ashur-bania-usur . . . Against the land of Tillie (?)
816 " " " " " Sharpati-Bel of the city of Nasibina. Against the land of Zarati.
815 " " " " " Bel-balat of . . . Against the city of Der. The great god went to Der.
814 " " " " " Mushiknish of the land of Kirruri. Against the land of Akhsana.
813 " " " " " Nergal-malik, the commander-in-chief. Against the land of Kaldu.
812 " " " " " Shamash-Kumua of the land of Arbakha. Against Babylon.
811 " " " " " Bel-Kata-sabit of the city of Mazamua. In the land.

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810 " " " " " Adad-nirari, king of Assyria. Against Media.
809 " " " " " Nergal-malik, the commander-in-chief. Against the city of Guzana.
808 " " " " " Bel-dan, the major-domo. Against the land of Manna.

807 In the eponym year of Sil-Bel, the rab-BI–LUB. Against the land of Manna.

806 " " " " " Ashur-tak-lak, the man Itu. Against the land of Arpad.

805 " " " " " Ilu-ittia, a governor of the country. Against the city of Khazazu.

804 " " " " " Nergal-eresh of the land of Rasappa. Against the city of Balu.

803 " " " " " Ashur-Kalab-nishe of the land of Arbakha. Against the sea coast. A plague.

802 " " " " " Ninib-malik of the city of Akhi (naru) Zukhina. Against the city of Khubushkia.

801 " " " " " Shepa-Ishtar of the city of Nasibina. Against Media.

800 " " " " " Marduk-Shemani of the city of Amedi. Against Media.

799 " " " " " Mutakkil-Marduk, the man of the Rabshakehs. Against the land of Lusia.

798 " " " " " Bel-tarsi-iluma of the city of Kalkhi. Against the land of Namri.

797 " " " " " Asshur-bel-usur of the land of Kirruri. Against the city of Mansuate.

796 " " " " " Marduk-Shadua of the city of Shallat. Against the city of Der.

795 " " " " " Ukin-abua of the land of Tushkhan. Against the city of Der.

794 In the eponym year of Manuki-Ashur of the city of Guzana. Against Media.

793 " " " " " Mushallim-Ninib of the land of Tillie. Against Media.

792 " " " " " Bel-ikishani of the city of Mekhinish. Against the city of Khubushkia.

791 " " " " " Shepa-Shamash of the land of Isana. Against the land of Itua.

790 " " " " " Ninib-ukin-akhi of the city of Ninua. Against Media.

789 " " " " " Adad-mushammir of the city of Kakzi. Against Media.

The foundation of the temple of Nabu in Nineveh was laid.

788 " " " " " Sil-Ishtar of the city . . . Against the land of Kiski. Nabu entered the new temple.

787 " " " " " Nabu-shar-usur (var. Balatu) of the city of . . .

786 " " " " " Adad-uballit of the city of Rimusi. Against . . .

The great god returned to the city of Der.

[The year 785 with Marduk-shar-usur is omitted]

784 " " " " " Nabu-shar-usur of the city of Kur-ban. Against the land of Khubushkia.

783 " " " " " Ninib-nasir of the city of of Mazamua. Against the land of Itu.

782 In the eponym year of Mali' of the city of Nasibina. Against the land of Itu

781 " " " " " Shul-ma-nu-asharidu (Shalmaneser), king of Assyria. Against the land of Urartu (Armenia).

780 " " " " " Shamshi-ilu, the commander-in-chief. Against the land of Urartu.

779 " " " " " Marduk-rimani, the rab-BI-LUB. Against the land of Urartu.

778 " " " " " Bel-lishir, the major-domo. Against the land of Urartu.

777 " " " " " Nabu-ishid-ukin, the minister. Against the land of Itu.

776 " " " " " Pan-Ashur-lamur, the governor of the land. Against the land of Urartu.

775 " " " " " Nergal-eresh of the land of Rasappa. Against the land of cedars (Amanus).

774 " " " " " Ishtar-duri of the city of Nasibina. Against the land of Urartu, and the land of Namri.

773 " " " " " Mannuki-Adad of the land of Shallat. Against the city of Damascus.

772 " " " " " Ashur-bel-usur of the city of Kalkhi. Against the land of Khatarika.

771 " " " " " Ashur-dan, king of Assyria. Against the city of Gananati.

770 In the eponym year of Shamshi-ilu, the commander-in-chief. Against the city of Shurad.

769 " " " " " Bel-malik of the city of Arbakha. Against the land of Itu.

768 " " " " " Apliya of the city of Mazamua. In the country.

767 " " " " " Kurdi-ashur of the city of Akhi-(naru) Zukhina. Against the land of Gananati.

766 " " " " " Mushallim-Ninib of the city of Tile. Against Media.

765 " " " " " Ninib-mukin-nishe of the land of Kirruri. Against the land of Khatarika. A plague.

764 " " " " " Sidki-ilu of the land of Tushkhan. In the country.

763 " " " " " Bur-(ilu)sagale of the city of Guzana. A revolt in the city of Ashur. In the month of Sivan an eclipse of the sun took place.

762 " " " " " Tab-bel of the city of Amedi. A revolt in the city of Ashur.

761 " " " " " Ninib-mukin-akhe of the city of Ninua. A revolt in the city of Arbakha.

760 " " " " " Laqibu of the city of Kak-zi. A revolt in the city of Arbakha.

759 " " " " " Pan-Ashur-lamur of the city of Arba-ilu (Arbela). A revolt in the city of Guzana. A plague.

758 In the eponym year of Bel-taklak of the city of Isana. Against the city of Guzana. Peace in the land.

757 " " " " " Ninib-iddin of the city of Kur-(mat)ban. In the country

756 " " " " " of Bel-shadua of the city of Parnunna. In the country.

755 " " " " " Kisu of the city of Mekhinish. Against the land (var. city) of Khatarika.

754 " " " " " Ninib-shezibani of the city of Rimusi. Against the land (var. city) of Arpadda. Return from the city of Ashur.

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753 " " " " " Ashur-nirari, king of Assyria. In the country.

752 " " " " " Shamshi-ilu, the commander-in-chief. In the country.

751 " " " " " Marduk-shallimani, the major-domo. In the country.

750 " " " " " Bel-dan, the rab-BI–LUB. In the country.

749 " " " " " Shamash-ittalak-SUN, the minister. Against the land of Namri.

748 " " " " " Adad-bel-ukin, governor of the land. Against the land of Namri.

747 " " " " " Sin-shallimani of the land of Rasappa. In the country.

746 " " " " " Nergal-nasir of the city of Nasibina. A revolt in the city of Kalkhi (Calakh).

745 In the eponym year of Nabu-bel-usur of the city of Arbakha. On the thirteenth day of the month of Iyyar, Tukulti-apil-esharra (Tiglath-Pileser) took his seat on the throne. In the month of Tishrit he marched to the territory between the rivers.

744 " " " " " Bel-dan of the city of Kal-Khi. Against the land of Namri

743 " " " " " Tukulti-apil-esharra, king of Assyria. In the city of Arpadda. A massacre took place in the land of Urartu (Armenia).

742 " " " " " Nabu-daninani, the commander-in-chief. Against the city of Arpadda.

741 " " " " " Bel-Kharran-bel-usur, the major-domo. Against the city of (Arpadda). After three years it was conquered.

740 " " " " " Nabu-etiranni, the rab-BI-LUB. Against the city of Arpadda.

739 " " " " " Sin-tak-lak, the minister. Against the land of Ulluba. A fortress established.

738 " " " " " Adad-bel-ukin, the governor of the land. The city of Gullani captured.

737 In the eponym year of Bel-limuranni of the land of Rasappa. Against Media.

736 " " " " " Ninib-malik of Nasibina. To the foot of the Nal mountains.

735 " " " " " Ashur-Shallimani of the land of Arbakha. Against the land of Urartu.

734 " " " " " Bel-dan of the city of Kal-Kha. Against the land of Pilista.

733 " " " " " Ashur-daninani of the city of Mazamua. Against the land of Damascus.

732 " " " " " Nabu-bel-usur of the city of Sime. Against the land of Damascus.

731 " " " " " Nergal-uballit of the city of Akhi-(naru) Zukhina. Against the city of Shapiya.

730 " " " " " Bel-ludari of the city of Tile. In the country.

729 " " " " " Napkhar-ilu of the land of Kirruri. The king took the hands of Bel.

728 " " " " " Dur-Ashur of the city of Tushkhan. The king took the hands of Bel. The city . . .

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727 " " " " " Bel-kharran-bel-usur of the city of Guzanu. Against the city of . . . Shul-manu-asharidu (Shalmaneser) took his seat on the throne.

726 In the eponym year of Marduk-bel-usur of the city of Amedi. In the country.
725 " " " " " Makhdie of the city of Ninua (Nineveh). Against . . .
724 " " " " " Ashur-Khal of the city of Kak-zi. Against . . .
723 " " " " " Shul-ma-nu-asharidu, king of Assyria. Against . . .

THE EPONYM CHRONICLE FOR 720–705 B. C.

720 . . . . . .
719 . . . . . entered.
718 . . . . . against the land of Tabal.
717 . . . . . was set up.
716 . . . . . Iranzu of Man.
715 . . . . . governors were established.
714 . . . . . the city of Musasir of the god Khaldia.
713 . . . . . the nobles in the land of Ellip.
712 . . . . . entered.
711 . . . . . the city of Musasir.
710 . . . . . in the country . . . Against the . . . . city of Markasa.

709 . . . Against the city of Bit-zer-naid. The king was taken prisoner at Kish. . . . Sharru-ukim (Sargon) took the hands of Bel.

708 . . . the city of Kummukh captured. A governor appointed.

707 The eponym year of Sha-Ashur-duppu, governor of the city of Tushkhan. The king returned from Babylon. . . . from the city of Dur-Yakin brought out.

706 (?) . . . the city of Dur-Yakin destroyed . . . the gods of Dur-Yakin entered their temples.

705 (?) . . . in the land of Karalla.

Fragment of a Similar List

708 Eponym year of Shamash-upakhkhir . . .
. . . the nobles. Against Kummukh.

707 Eponym year of Sha-Ashur-dubbu, governor of the city of Tushkhan. The king returned from Babylon. The palaces and . . . On the twenty-second day of the month of Teshrit the gods of Dur-Sharru-ukin entered into their temple.

706 Eponym year of Mutakkil-Ashur, governor of the city of Guzana (Gozan). The king.

705 Eponym year of Upakhkhir, governor of Amedi . . . Because of the oracle, the Kulummaites . . . Guerillas the camp of the King of Assyria . . . On the twelfth day of the month of Ab, Sin-akhe-erba (Sennacherib) took his seat on the throne.

704 Eponym year of Nabu-dini-ebush, the governor of the city of Ninua (Nineveh). . . . The city of Larak, the city of Sarabunu . . . the palace of the city of Kakzi was built. Great because of . . .

Babylonian and Assyrian Months

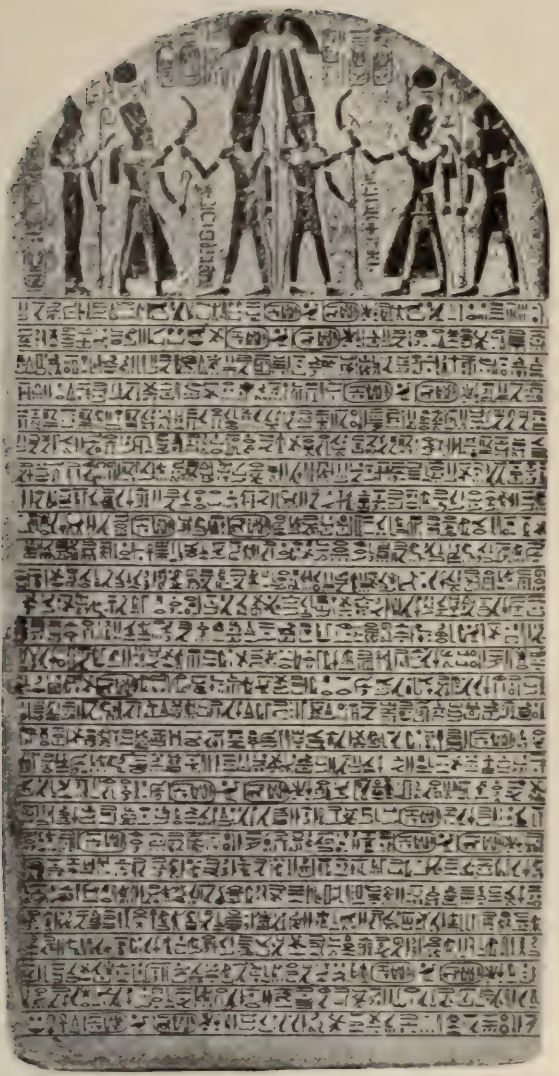
	Babylonian	*Assyrian*				
I	Ni-sa-an-nu	Nisan	c. 21 March	—	21 April
II	A-a-ru	Airu	" " April	—	" May
III	Si-ma-nu	Sivan	" " May	—	" June
IV	Du-'u-zu	Tammuz	" " June	—	" July
V	A-bu	Ab	" " July	—	" Aug.
VI	U-lu-lu	Elul	" " Aug.	—	" Sept.
VII	Tish-ri-tu(m)	Tishri	" " Sept.	—	" Oct.
VIII	A-ra-akh-sa-am-na	Markheshwan	" " Oct.	—	" Nov.
IX	Ki-si-li-mu	Kislev	" " Nov.	—	" Dec.
X	Te-bi-tum	Tebet	" " Dec.	—	" Jan.
XI	Sha-ba-tu	Shabat	" " Jan.	—	" Feb.
XII	Ad-da-ru	Adar	" " Feb.	—	" March

ASIA MINOR
Khilakku
Amanus Mts.
PATIN
Antioch
(UPPER SEA)
Aribua
Aramaeans
Orontes R.
Karkar
Hamath
Arvad
Riblah
Palmyra
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
(THE GREAT WESTERN SEA)
Beirut
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
Phoenicia
MAT-AKHARRI
Lebanon
Anti-Lebanon
Damascus
Accu
Haifa
Carmel
Hauran
Ashtaroth
Jezreel
Dor
Megiddo
Tannek
Samaria
Shechem
Jaffa
Bit-Khumri
Jordan
Jabbok
AMMON
Rabbath Ammon
Ashdod
Jerusalem
Ashkelon
Lachish
Heshbon
Gath
Hebron
Dibon
Gaza
Raphia
MOAB
Kadesh
Bozra
EDOM
Petra
Mitanni
Carchemish
Kharran
Khatti
Bit-Agusi
Aleppo
Bit-Adini
Balikh R.
LAKI
ARUMU (ARAMAEANS)
Khabur R.
NAIRI
Dur Sharrukin
Nineveh
Kalah
ASSHUR
Upper Zab
Arbela
GUTI
Zagros Mts.
MADAI
Ekbatana
MESOPOTAMIA
PADAN ARAM
Asshur
Lower Zab
Radanu R.
Baghdad
Euphrates
SUCHI
Hit
River
Ripiqu
Sippar
Turmat
R.
Kupigalsu
Kutha
Agade
Opis
Cutha
Sippar
Kish
AKKAD
Kerbela
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Borsippa
Nippur
Kisurra
Shuripak
Umma
SUMER
Lagash (Tello)
Uruk
Larsa
Erech
KALDI (CHALDAEANS)
Ur
Eridu
Tigris
River
Behistun
Mts. of Elam
ELAM
Ukna
R.
KASSITES
Ula (Ulai) R.
Susa
Persian Gulf
(Great Eastern Sea)
ARABIAN DESERT
CUNEIFORM SECTION
MILES
0 25 50 100

EGYPTIAN SOURCES

THE "ISRAEL STELA"

The so-called "Israel Stela" was discovered by Flinders Petrie at Thebes in 1896. The stela contains a hymn of victory celebrating the defeat of the Libyans by Merneptah, the "Pharaoh of the Exodus." It has been called the "Israel Stela" because it contains in the middle of the second line from the bottom the name of "Israel," being the earliest mention of that name in any literature. The stela is in the Cairo Museum. *See page 133 for a translation of the part containing the name "Israel."*



THE "ISRAEL" STELA

THE OLD KINGDOM, 2980–2475 B. C.

THIRD TO SIXTH DYNASTY

At what period Egypt first came into contact with Syria and Palestine no one presumes to know. Already in the reign of Snefru, c. 2980–2900 B. C., of the third dynasty, as we learn from an inscription on the famous Palermo Stone,[1] the Egyptians had sent a fleet of forty ships to Lebanon which returned "filled with cedar wood," and it is legitimate to conclude that this was not their first trip.

As contemporaries of Lugal-zag-gi-si, Sargon I, and Naram-Sin there ruled in Egypt the pyramid builders of the fourth, fifth, and sixth dynasties, c. 2900–2475 B. C. According to inscriptions cut into the rocks of the Wadi Maghara[2] in the Peninsula of Sinai, Sahure, c. 2743–2731 B. C., second king of the fifth dynasty, was referred to as "smiter of all countries" and it is added that "the great god smites the *Asiatics of all countries*." During recent excavations at Abusir, a relief was found which represents a king of the fifth dynasty as a lion-headed sphinx trampling upon foreigners, and it is quite evident that some of them were Semitic Asiatics, as their physiognomy shows. Another picture shows Sahure's fleet just returned from an expedition to the neighborhood of

[1] Naville, *La Pierre de Palerme, Recueil de Travaux*, 25, pp. 64–81.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. III, Abt. II, 39, *a*.

Lebanon. In the ships Semitic prisoners are seen near the Egyptians.

In the reign of Pepi I, c. 2590–2570 B. C., third king of the sixth dynasty, according to an inscription of Uni,[1] the great commander-in-chief of Pepi's armies, an expedition was made into southern Palestine. Uni says: "His majesty made war on the Asiatic sand-dwellers, and his majesty made an army of many ten thousands. [Here follows an account of where the soldiers were recruited, and some personal remarks are added]. This army returned in safety (after) it had harrowed the land of the sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety (after) it had destroyed the land of the sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety (after) it had overturned its strongholds; this army returned in safety (after) it had destroyed its figs and its vines; this army returned in safety (after) it had thrown fire in all its [troops]; this army returned in safety (after) it had slain troops therein in many thousands; this army returned in safety (after) [it had carried away] therefrom a great multitude as living captives. His majesty praised me on account of it above everything."

His majesty sent me to despatch [this army] five times, in order to traverse the land of the sand-dwellers at each of their rebellions, with these troops. I did so that [his] majesty praised me [on account of it].

When it was said that there were revolters because of a matter among these barbarians in the land of gazelle-nose, I crossed over in troop ships, and I voyaged to the back of the height of the ridge, (i.e., the highlands of Palestine) to

[1] Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 98–110.

the north of the sand-dwellers. When this army had been brought to the highway, I came and smote them all and every revolter among them was slain.

Pepi II, c. 2566–2476, fifth king of the same dynasty, likewise sent an expedition to the land of the Asiatics. An account of the expedition is given by Pepi-Nakht a nobleman of Elephantiné. He says: "Now the majesty of my lord sent me to the country of the Asiatics to bring for him the sole companion [commander] of the sailors, the caravan-conductor, Enenkhet, who was building a ship there for Punt, when the Asiatics belonging to the sand-dwellers slew him, together with a troop of the army which was with him. . . . I slew people among them [I] and the troop of the army which was with me." [1]

[1] Sethe, *op. cit.*, I, 131–135.

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM, 2160–1788, B. C.

ELEVENTH TO TWELFTH DYNASTY

In the reign of Sesostris I, c. 1980–1935, a noble of high rank named Sinuhe fled to Palestine where he remained an exile till near the end of his life. The remarkable and interesting account of his adventures is considered by all scholars to be exceedingly reliable and is, therefore, very useful for us, for in it we have the oldest account of what was later the land of Palestine.

THE TALE OF SINUHE[1]

I stole away . . . ,
To seek for myself a place of concealment.
I placed myself between two bushes,
To avoid the way which they went.
I proceeded up stream,
Not intending to reach the court;
I thought there was fighting (there).

. . . . . .

I reached . . . in the region of Sycomore,
I arrived at the island of Snefru.
I tarried in a stretch of field,
It grew light, I went on, when it was day.
I came upon a man, standing in . . . the way;
He saluted me, and was afraid.
When the time of the evening meal drew on,

[1] Translated by Erman, *Aus den Papyrus des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 14–29; and Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, pp. 233 ff. I give only part of the tale.

I reached the city of Ng'w.
I ferrried over, in a vessel without a rudder,
[By means of] a wind of the west.
I passed by on the east of the quarry,
Past the highland goddess, mistress of the Red Mountain [1]
As I gave the way to my feet [going northward],
I came to the walls of the ruler,
Made to repulse the Bedwin,
[And to smite the sand-rangers],
I bowed down in the bushes,
For fear the sentinels on the fort,
Who belonged to its day (-watch), should see me.
I went on at time of evening,
As the earth brightened, I arrived at Peten.
When I had reached the lake of Kemwer (north end of Suez Gulf),
I fell down for thirst, fast came [my] breath,
My throat was hot,
I said: This is the taste of death.
I upheld my heart, I drew my limbs together,
As I heard the sound of the lowing of cattle,
I beheld the Bedwin.
That chief among them, who had been in Egypt, recognized me.
He gave me water, he cooked milk for me.
I went with him to his tribe,
Good was that which they did (for me).
One land sent me on to another,
I set loose for Suan,
I arrived at Kedem (Hebrew = "eastward," east of Jordan);
I spent a year and a half there.
Emuienshi, that sheik of Upper Tenu,[2] brought me forth,

[1] Still called the Red Mountain, northeast of Cairo.
[2] Tenu = Retenu = Syria.

Saying to me: "Happy art thou with me,
(For) thou hearest the speech of Egypt."
He said this for he knew my character,
He had heard of my wisdom;
The Egyptians who were there with him, bore witness of me.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

He (Emuienshi) put me at the head of his children,
He married me to his eldest daughter,
He made me select for myself of his land,
Of the choicest of that which he had,
On his boundary with another land.
It was a goodly land, named Yaa;
There were in it figs and vines,
More plentiful than water was its wine,
Copius was its honey, plenteous its oil;
All fruits were upon its trees.
Barley was there and spelt,
Without end all cattle.
Moreover, great was that which came to me,
Which came for love of me,
When he appointed me sheik of the tribe,
From the choicest of his land.
I portioned the daily bread,
And wine for every day,
Cooked flesh, and fowl in roast;
Besides the wild goats of the hills,
Which were trapped for me, and brought to me;
Besides that which my dogs captured for me.
There was much — made for me,
And milk in every sort of dish cooked.
I spent many years,
My children became strong,
Each the mighty man of his tribe.
The messenger going north,

Or passing southward to the court,
Turned in to me.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

One of the scenes[1] in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Benihasan is very interesting. It represents a party of thirty-seven Bedwin visiting Sesostris II, c. 1906–1887, and bringing gifts. Their leader is called "Sheik of the highlands, Ibshe" (Hebrew, Abshai). In another place they are referred to as "Asiatics of the desert." It used to be customary to identify them with Abraham and his followers. The identification has been abandoned.

The next light from Egyptian monuments on Palestine and Syria comes from the reign of Sesostris III, c. 1887–1849. There must have been other expeditions into Palestine at this period other than the one described on the Stela of Sebek-Khu (called Zaa), for we learn from the Tale of Sinuhe, who was an exile in Syria just before the time of Sebek-Khu, that the power and influence of the Egyptian king were known and recognized there. Sebek-Khu tells us that he went with the king, his master, on a campaign to a district called Sekmem (perhaps Shechem) in Retenu (Syria). The Egyptians defeated the Asiatics.

Stela of Sebek-Khu

His majesty proceeded northward, to overthrow the Asiatics. His majesty arrived at a district, its name was Sekmem. His majesty led the good way in proceeding to the palace of "Life, Prosperity, and Health," when Sek-

[1] Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, Pl. 30.

mem had fallen, together with Retenu the wretched, while I was acting as guard.

Then the citizens of the army mixed in to fight with the Asiatics. Then I captured an Asiatic and had his weapons seized by two citizens of the army, (for) one did not turn back from the fight, (but) my face was to the front, and I gave not my back to the Asiatic.

As Sesostris lives, I have spoken in truth. Then he gave to me a staff of electrum into my hand, a bow, and a dagger wrought with electrum, together with his (the Asiatic's) weapons.[1]

Macalister in his great work, *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. II, pp. 307 ff., shows how common were Egyptian inscriptions, scarabs, etc., in Gezer as early as the twelfth dynasty, c. 2000–1788 B. C. This would naturally presuppose a long period of intercourse between Egypt and Palestine previous to the twelfth dynasty.

The Hyksos

Very little is known of these people other than that they were an Asiatic people who, taking advantage of the weakness of the thirteenth to the seventeenth dynasties, poured down into Egypt and established themselves in the Delta as rulers. Up to the present time there have only been found the remains of three Hyksos kings, Khian, Apophis I, and Apophis II, the last of whom Joseph was supposed to have served.

They are called "Hyksos" after a designation applied to them by Josephus who quotes Manetho. Many years after their expulsion from Egypt, the queen Hatshepsut, c. 1500 B. C., refers to them as

[1] Garstang, *El-Arábah*, Pls. IV–V, pp. 32–33.

"Asiatics," and "barbarians" who lived in Avaris. She says, referring to her works of restoration: "I have raised up that which was unfinished since the Asiatics were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland, and the barbarians were in the midst of them (the Northland), overthrowing that which was made while they ruled in ignorance of Rē." The biography of Ahmose, son of Ebana, a nobleman of El Kab in the reign of Ahmose I, c. 1580–1557, proves that the Hyksos were driven from the city Hatwaret (Avaris) after a siege of six years. King Ahmose followed them up and invaded Syria, as we learn from the biography of another nobleman of El Kab, namely, Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet.

As many as four hundred years after the expulsion of the Hyksos a story gives an interesting account of them. It says: "Now it came to pass that the land of Egypt was the possession of the polluted, no lord being king at the time when it happened, but king Sekenenre, he was ruler of the Southern city [Thebes]. . . . King Apophis was in Avaris, and the whole land was tributary to him; the [Southland] bearing their impost, and the Northland likewise bearing every good thing of the Delta. Now King Apophis made Sutekh his lord, serving no other god, who was in the whole land, save Sutekh. He built the temple in beautiful and everlasting work." (Papyrus Sallier, I, ll. 1–3. After Breasted.)

Apophis, one of the Hyksos kings, engraved upon an altar, now at Cairo, a dedication which reads: "He (Apophis) made it as his monument for his father Sutekh (Egyptian name for a Syrian Baal), lord of Avaris, when he (Sutekh) set all lands under his (i.e.,

the king's) feet." This shows that the dominions of Apophis in Egypt must have been quite extensive. Further, an elaborate vase-lid bearing the name of Apophis has been discovered by Evans in the palace of Knossos in Crete (*Annual of the British School of Archæology at Athens*, VII, 65, Fig. 21); the British Museum possesses a granite lion with the cartouche of Apophis upon the breast; and scarabs and cylinders have been found bearing his name and the title "ruler of the countries." Scarabs of the Hyksos kings have been found also in South Palestine. These facts indicate that the Egyptian empire of the Hyksos must have been a vast one.

It is interesting to note here that a Hyksos pharaoh gives his name on his scarabs as Jacob-her or Jacob-el. This would correspond with the belief that it was about this time that the Jacob-tribes entered Egypt. The Hebrews who, according to the Old Testament, sojourned in Egypt might well have been a part of the Hyksos people.

THE EMPIRE, FIRST PERIOD, 1580–1350 B. C.

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

AHMOSE I, c. 1580–1557 B. C.

As we have already seen, it was in the reign of this king that the Hyksos were driven from their city Avaris. Josephus quoting Manetho throws a good deal of light upon this problem of the Hyksos.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE HYKSOS

One besieged the city of Avaris. I showed valor on foot before his majesty. Then I was appointed to (the ship) "Shining-in-Memphis."

One fought on the water in the canal: Pezedku of Avaris. Then I fought hand to hand, I brought away a hand. It was reported to the royal herald. One gave me the gold of valor.

Then there was again fighting in this place; I fought again hand to hand there; I brought away a hand. One gave to me the gold of bravery in the second place.

One captured Avaris; I took captive there one man and three women, total four heads; his majesty gave them to me for slaves.[1]

CAMPAIGN IN NAHARIN[2]

Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, chief treasurer, herald [of his lord . . .], Ahmose, called Pen-Nekhbet, triumphant; he says: "I followed king Nebpeh-

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 12, *a* and *d;* Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 6–7.

[2] Naharin is Hebrew Aram-Naharaim, Old Testament Mesopotamia.

tire (Ahmose I), triumphant. I captured for him in Zahi (a place in Naharin) a living prisoner and a hand.[1]

The Manetho-Josephus Tradition

There was a king of ours whose name was Timaios, in whose reign it came to pass, I know not why, that God was displeased with us, and there came unexpectedly men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, who had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and easily subdued it by force without a battle. And when they had got our rulers under their power, they afterwards savagely burnt down our cities and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants in a most hostile manner, for they slew some and led the children and wives of others into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis, and he lived at Memphis and made both Upper and Lower Egypt pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were most suitable for them. And he made the eastern part especially strong, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would covet their kingdom and invade them. And as he found in the Saite nome a city very fit for his purpose, which lay east of the arm of the Nile near Bubastis, and with regard to a certain theological notion was called Avaris, he rebuilt it and made it very strong by the walls he built around it and by a numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men, whom he put into it to keep it.[2]

Thutmose I, c. 1540–1501

Although we have no records from the reign of Amenhotep I, c. 1557 B. C., which tell of his Syrian

[1] Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, p. 10. There is another brief reference to his wars in an inscription of the Karnak Stela, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'égypte*, IV, 27–29.

[2] Josephus, *Contra Apion*, I, 14.

wars, yet we learn from his successor's boast of rule as far as the Euphrates,[1] previous to his own conquest in Syria, that he must have carried on considerable campaigns in that direction. Thutmose I, successor of Amenhotep, after conquering Kush to above the third cataract, turned his attention to Syria where he found a people of considerable intelligence and culture. He penetrated as far as Naharin, a country extending from the Orontes to the Euphrates. A great battle took place in which many Asiatics were slain and large numbers taken prisoner. Thutmose erected a boundary tablet[2] marking the limits of his Syrian possessions.

Campaign in Asia

After these things one journeyed to Retenu to wash his heart (take revenge) among the foreign countries. His majesty arrived at Naharin, his majesty found that foe when he was planning destruction, his majesty made a great slaughter among them. Numberless were the living prisoners which his majesty brought off from his victories. Meanwhile I was at the head of our troops and his majesty beheld my bravery. I brought away a chariot, its horses, and the rider as a living prisoner, and took them to his majesty. One presented me with gold in double measure.[3]

Again I served for king Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphantly. I captured for him in the country of Naharin twenty-one hands, one horse, and one chariot.[4]

[1] Tombos Stela, Lepsius *Denkmäler*, Bd. V, III, 5, *a*.

[2] This we learn from the fact that Thutmose III states that he erected a boundary tablet beside that of his father (Thutmose I). This tablet must be the one referred to.

[3] See note 1, p. 99.

[4] See note 1, p. 99. Another reference is made to Thutmose I as he "who overthrows the *Asiatics*." Biography of Ineni, Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, p. 42.

Thutmose II, Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut, c. 1496–1447 B. C.

The sentence "The Asiatics came to him bearing tribute," found in the Assuan Inscription (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 16, *a*), shows us that Thutmose II was recognized in Asia. This is corroborated by a very fragmentary text (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 80), which records a campaign of the same king in Retenu the Upper.

Before the reign of Thutmose III had progressed very far the city-kings of northern Palestine and Syria combined under the leadership of the king of Kadesh to defy the foreign Egyptian. In this move they were supported by the consent of the king of the Mitanni. Thutmose was not long in deciding his next step, and by the end of the twenty-second year of his reign his army was ready to start. In 1479 he set out from Tharu on the northeastern frontier and in less than a month he encamped near Carmel. The Asiatics assembled at Megiddo, in the plain of Esdraelon. Thutmose himself led the attack, the enemy was defeated, and shortly afterwards the city fell. He then proceeded further north, capturing city after city as he went, and in six months after his departure from Egypt he was again in Thebes.

He made other campaigns in Asia. In the twenty-ninth year he invaded Phoenicia by sea and was successful. In his eighth campaign, in the thirty-third year, Thutmose was again in Syria whose kings he conquered, subdued the king of Mitanni, and marched as far as the Euphrates. It was during this

campaign that the battle of Carchemish took place. After the battle he crossed the Euphrates and set up his boundary tablet. On his way back he found the boundary tablet of his father Thutmose I, and set up another beside it. Besides the local princes of Naharin, and the king of Babylonia, the people of the Kheta (Hittites) sent tribute and rich gifts. During a ninth campaign Thutmose again shattered the rising power of the allies of Naharin, and also on a thirteenth campaign he received gifts from the Hittites. During his seventeenth and last campaign he defeated his old enemy Kadesh which put an end to Asiatic revolt as long as he lived.

In time, many tales were written about the wonders of Thutmose's campaigns in Asia. One tells about Thutiy, one of Thutmose's generals, who cleverly captured the city of Joppa by smuggling his trained soldiers into the fortress concealed in donkey panniers.

As we have already seen, it was in the reign of the queen Hatshepsut that records of the Hyksos were made.

Annals of the Reign of Thutmose III

First Campaign. Year 22, fourth month of the second season, on the twenty-fifth day [his majesty was in] Tharu on the first victorious expedition to [extend] the boundaries of Egypt with might. . . .

Now at that period [the Asiatics had fallen into] disagreement, each man [fighting] against [his neighbor]. . . . Now it happened [that the tribes] . . . the people, who were there in the city of Sharuhen; behold, from Yeraza to the marshes of the earth (i.e., from N. W. Judea to Euphrates), they had begun to revolt against his majesty.

Year 23, first month of the third season, on the fourth

day, the day of the feast of the king's coronation, (he arrived) at the city, the possession of the ruler, Gaza.

[Year 23] first month of the third season, on the fifth day; departure from this place in might . . . in power, and in triumph, to overthrow that wretched foe, to extend the boundaries of Egypt, according as his father, Amon-Rē, [had commanded . . .] that he seize. Year 23, first month of the third season, on the sixteenth day, (he arrived) at the city of Yehem.

[His majesty] ordered a consultation with his valiant troops, saying as follows: "That [wretched] enemy, [the chief] of Kadesh has come and entered into Megiddo; he [is there] at this moment. He has gathered to himself the chiefs of [all] the countries [which are] on the water of Egypt (subject to Egypt), and as far as Naharin, consisting of [the countries] of the Kharu, the Kode, their horses, their troops, . . . thus he speaks, 'I have arisen to [fight against his majesty] in Megiddo.' Tell ye me . . ."

They spoke in the presence of his majesty, "How is it that [we] should go upon this road, which threatens to be narrow? While they [come] and say that the enemy is there waiting, holding the way against a multitude. Will not horse come behind [horse and man behind] man likewise? Shall our [advance-guard] be fighting while our [rear-guard] is yet standing yonder in Aruna not having fought? There are yet two (other) roads: one road, behold it . . . us, for it comes forth at Taanach, the other, behold it will bring us upon the way north of Zefti, so that we shall come out to the north of Megiddo. Let our victorious lord proceed upon [the road] he desires; (but) cause us not to go by a difficult road." [Then follows a decision of the king to the contrary and the submission of the officers to his decision. They depart from Yehem and arrive at the city of Aruna in the mountains. Then follows a battle near Taanach]. The enemy went forth . . . in numerous battle array . . . the southern wing was in Taanach, the north

wing was on the ground south of. . . . His majesty cried out to them before . . . they fell; behold, that wretched foe . . . of the city of Aruna.

Now, the rear of the victorious army of his majesty was at the city of Aruna, the front was going forth to the valley of. . . . They filled the opening of this valley. Then they said in the presence of his majesty: "Behold his majesty goeth forth with his victorious army, and it has filled the hollow of the valley. Let our victorious lord harken to us this time, and let our lord protect for us the rear of his army and his people. Let the rear of this army come forth to us behind. Then shall they also fight against these barbarians. Then we shall not need to take thought for the rear of our army." His majesty halted outside and waited there, protecting the rear of his victorious army.

Behold when the front had reached the exit upon this road, the shadow had turned (afternoon), and when his majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo on the bank of the brook Kina the seventh hour was turning, measured by the sun.

Then was set up the camp of his majesty and command was given to the whole army, saying: "Equip yourselves! Prepare your weapons! for one shall advance to fight with that wretched foe in the morning." Therefore the king rested in the royal tent, the affairs of the chiefs were arranged, and the provisions of the attendants. The watch of the army went about, saying, "Steady of heart! Steady of heart! Watchful! Watchful! Watch for life at the tent of the king." One came to say to his majesty, "The land is well, and the infantry of the South and North likewise."

Year 23, first month of the third season, on the twenty-first day, the day of the feast of the new moon, corresponding to the royal coronation, early in the morning, behold, command was given to the entire army to move. . . . His majesty went forth in a chariot of electrum, arrayed with his weapons of war, like Horus, the Smiter, lord of power;

like Montu of Thebes, while his father, Amon, strengthened his arms, The southern wing of this army of his majesty was on a hill south of the brook of Kina, the northern wing was at the northwest of Megiddo, while his majesty was in their centre with Amon as the protection of his members. . . . Then his majesty prevailed against them at the head of his army, and when they saw his majesty prevailing against them they fled headlong to Megiddo in fear, abandoning their horses and their chariots of gold and silver. The people hauled them up, pulling them by their clothing, into this city; the people of this city having closed it against them [and lowered] clothing to pull them up into this city. Now, if only the army of his majesty had not given their heart to plundering the things of the enemy, they would have captured Megiddo at this moment, when the wretched foe of Kadesh and the wretched foe of this city were hauled up in haste to bring them into this city. The fear of his majesty had entered [their hearts], their arms were powerless, his serpent diadem was victorious among them.

Then were captured their horses, their chariots of gold and silver were made spoil. Their champions lay stretched out like fishes on the ground. The victorious army of his majesty went around counting their portions. Behold, there was captured the tent of that wretched foe in which was his son. . . . The whole army made jubilee, giving praise to Amon for the victory which he had granted to his son on [this day, giving praise] to his majesty, exalting his victories. They brought up the booty which they had taken, consisting of hands, of living prisoners, of horses, chariots of gold and silver. . . . .

Then spake his majesty on hearing the words of his army, saying: "Had ye captured this city afterward, behold, I would have given . . . Re this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo. Capture ye mightily, mightily . . ."

[His majesty commanded] the officers of the troops to go . . . , assigning to each his place. They measured this city, [surrounding it] with an inclosure, walled about with green timber of all their pleasant trees. His majesty himself was upon the fortification east of this city. . . . It was walled about with a thick wall. . . . Its name was made: "Menkheperre (Thutmose III)-is-the-Surrounder-of-the-Asiatics." People were stationed to watch over the tent of his majesty; to whom it was said: "Steady of heart! Watch . . ." His majesty commanded, saying: "Let not one among them come forth outside, beyond this wall, except to come out in order to knock at the door of their fortification."

Now, all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe and his wretched army, was recorded on each day by its (the day's) name, under the title of. . . . Then it was recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon this day.

Behold, the chiefs of this country came to render their portions, to do obeisance to the fame of his majesty, to crave breath for their nostrils, because of the greatness of his power, because of the might of the fame of his majesty . . . came to his fame, bearing their gifts, consisting of silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, malachite; bringing clean grain, wine, large cattle, and small cattle — for the army of his majesty. Each of the Kode (coast-people) among them bore the tribute southward. Behold, his majesty appointed the chiefs anew for . . .

. . . 340 living prisoners, 83 hands; 2,041 mares; 191 foals; 6 stallions; — young —; a chariot wrought with gold, its pole of gold, belonging to that foe; a beautiful chariot, wrought with gold, belonging to the chief of Megiddo . . . 892 chariots of his wretched army; total 924 chariots; a beautiful suit of bronze armor, belonging to the chief of Megiddo . . ., 200 suits of armor, belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; 7 poles of wood, wrought with

silver, belonging to the tent of that foe. Behold the army of his majesty took . . . 1,929 large cattle, 2,000 small cattle, 20,500 white small cattle. [Then follows a further list of goods "afterward taken by the king" from different cities, consisting of "dishes of costly stone and gold," vases, drinking vessels, rings of gold and silver, gold and silver statues, chairs inlaid with gold, ivory, ebony, and other wood, besides prisoners and slaves. It is also stated that his majesty appropriated the harvest of the fields of Megiddo].[1]

[There is another fragmentary account of the siege of Megiddo, translated by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 189–190, but it does not add materially to the above].

Second Campaign. List of the tribute of Asshur and of the chiefs of Retenu in the year 24. [Here follows a list of lapis-lazuli and "stones in colors" from Assyria; and "the daughter of a chief"; ornaments of gold, lapis-lazuli; horses; chariots inlaid with gold, etc.; cattle; incense; wine; ivory, and other valuables from the Retenu. A second tribute of various things from the Assyrians is mentioned [2]].

Third Campaign. This was merely a trip to Syria when plants and flowers were collected.[3]

Fourth Campaign. No extant account.

Fifth Campaign. Year 29. Behold his majesty was in Zahi subduing the countries revolting against him, on the fifth victorious campaign. Behold, his majesty captured the city of Wa. . . . This army offered acclamations to his majesty, giving praise to Amon for the victories which he gave to his son. They were pleasing to the heart of his majesty above everything. [Here follows an account of a

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. V, III, 31, *b*, l. 67; III, 32, ll. 1–32. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1153–1166, ll. 1–79, 1–21. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 175 ff.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. V, III, 32, ll. 32–39; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1166–1168, ll. 21–28.

[3] Mariette, *Karnak*, 28–31.

sacrifice to Amon consisting of oxen, calves, and fowl; and then a "list of the plunder taken out of the city "].

Behold, ships were taken . . . laden with everything, with slaves, male and female; copper, lead, emery, and everything good. Afterward his majesty proceeded southward to Egypt, to his father, Amon-Rē, with joy of heart.

Behold, his majesty overthrew the city of Arvad, with its grain, cutting down all its pleasant trees. Behold, there were found the products of all Zahi. Their gardens were filled with their fruit, their wines were found remaining in their presses as water flows, their grain on the terraces . . . it was more plentiful than the sand of the shore. The army were overwhelmed with their portions. [Then follows the tribute].[1]

Sixth Campaign. Year 30. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the sixth victorious expedition (by ship) of his majesty. He arrived at the city of Kadesh, overthrew it, cut down its groves, harvested its grain. He came to the land of *Shywt*, arrived at the city of Simyra, arrived at the city of Arvad, doing likewise to it.

List of the tribute brought to the souls of his majesty by the chiefs of Retenu in this year. Behold, the children of the chiefs and their brothers were brought to be in strongholds in Egypt. Now, whosoever died among these chiefs, his majesty would cause his son to stand in his place. List of the children of chiefs brought in this year: . . . persons; 181 slaves, male and female; 188 horses; 40 chariots wrought with gold and silver and painted.[2]

Seventh Campaign. Booty brought from the city of Ullaza, which is upon the shore of Zeren, 490 living captives; . . . of the son of that foe of Tunip; chief of the . . . who was there, 1; total 494 persons. 26 horses; 13 chariots,

[1] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1168–1170, ll. 1–7. Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 ff.

[2] Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 7–9. Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff.

and their equipment of all the weapons of war. Verily, his majesty captured this city in a short hour, and all its property was spoil. [Then follows the "tribute of the princes of Retenu" in detail, besides provisions received at the different Phoenician harbors]. The harvest of the land of the Retenu was reported, consisting of much clean grain, grain in the kernel, barley, incense, green oil, wine, fruit, every pleasing thing of the country; they shall apportion it to the treasury, according as the impost of the . . . is counted . . ., together with green stone, every costly stone of this country, and many stones of brilliancy; all the good things of this country.[1]

Eighth Campaign. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu; he arrived . . . . He set up a tablet east of this water (Euphrates); he set up another beside the tablet of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I).

Behold, his majesty went north capturing the towns and laying waste the settlements of that foe of wretched Naharin . . . he pursued after them an *iter* of sailing; not one looked behind him, but they fled, indeed, like a herd of mountain goats; yea, the horses fled . . . . [Here comes a list of the booty taken].

His majesty arrived at the city of Niy, going southward, when his majesty returned, having set up his tablet in Naharin, extending the boundaries of Egypt. . . . [Here follows a "list of the tribute brought to his majesty by the chiefs of this country." The supplies of the harbors of Lebanon; the tribute of the chief of Shinar (Biblical Shinar = Babylon); and the tribute of Kheta (Hittites) the Great].[2]

Ninth Campaign. Year 34. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Zahi . . . . he surrendered fully to his majesty with fear. [Here follows a list of towns captured, captives

[1] Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 9–17.
[2] Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 17–29.

brought, and other tribute received; then comes the "tribute of the chiefs of the Retenu in this year"; then harbors are supplied "with every good thing of that which his majesty received in Zahi, consisting of Keftyew ships, Byblus ships, and Sektu ships of cedar laden with poles, and masts, together with great trees of the . . . of his majesty"].[1]

Tenth Campaign. Year 35. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Zahi on the tenth victorious expedition. When his majesty arrived at the city of Araina, behold, that wretched foe of Naharin had collected horses and people; his majesty . . . of the ends of the earth. They were numerous . . . they were about to fight with his majesty. Then his majesty advanced to fight with them; then the army of his majesty furnished an example of attack, in the matter of seizing and taking. Then his majesty prevailed against these barbarians by the souls of his father Amon . . . of Naharin. They fled headlong, falling one over another, before his majesty. [Then follows a list of booty from the barbarians of Naharin, among which are recorded five bows of Kharu (Palestine)].[2]

There is no extant account of the *eleventh* and *twelfth campaigns.*

Thirteenth Campaign. Year 38. Behold, his majesty was in . . . on the thirteenth victorious expedition. Behold, his majesty was overthrowing . . . in the district of Nuges (southern Lebanon). [Here follows the "list of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from the district of Nuges." Then the tribute of Zahi is given in detail].

Behold every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year, in going northward or southward; the impost of Lebanon likewise; the harvest of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, green oil, incense, wine.[3]

[1] Bissing, *op. cit.*, ll. 29–37. [2] Bissing, *op. cit.*, ll. 37–44.
[3] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1178–1181, ll. 2–9.

Fourteenth Campaign. Year 39. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, after his going to defeat the fallen ones of Shasu (Bedwin). [Then follows a list of Syrian tribute. The harbors are likewise supplied].[1]

The *fifteenth campaign* inscriptions show only lists of tribute from Cyprus, Kush, and Wawat; and the *sixteenth campaign*, list of tribute from Retenu, the Hittites, Kush, and Wawat.

Seventeenth Campaign. Year 42. . . . the Fenkhu. Behold, his majesty was upon the coast road, in order to overthrow the city of Erkatu (in Syria) and the cities of . . . Kana . . .; this city was overthrown, together with its districts. His majesty arrived at Tunip, overthrew that city, harvested its grain, and cut down its groves . . . the citizens of the army. Behold, he came in safety, arrived at the district of Kadesh, captured the cities therein. [Here follows a list of tribute from Kadesh, Tunip, Tinay and other districts].[2]

A Lebanon Fortress

. . . in the land of Retenu as a fortress which his majesty built in his victories among the chiefs of Lebanon, the name of which is: "Menkheperre (Thutmose III)-is-the-binder-of-the-barbarians."[3]

Gift to Amon

My majesty gave to him (Amon) three cities in Retenu the upper: Nuges was the name of one, Yenoam was the name of another, Herenkeru was the name of another. The dues consisting of the impost of the fiscal year, the divine offerings, of my father Amon. . . .[4]

[1] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1181–1182, ll. 9–13.
[2] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1183–1185, ll. 10–20.
[3] Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 218 ff.
[4] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, *b*.

Biography of Amenemhab[1]

I (Amenemhab) fought hand to hand in the land of Negeb (South of Palestine). I brought off three men, Asiatics, as living prisoners. When his majesty came to Naharin I brought off three men from the fight there; I set them before thy majesty as living prisoners.

Again I fought hand to hand on that expedition in the land of "The-Height-of-Wan" on the west of Aleppo. I brought off thirteen Asiatics as living prisoners, thirteen men; seventy living asses; thirteen bronze spears; the bronze was wrought with gold. . . .

Again I fought on that expedition in the land of Carchemish. I brought off . . . as living prisoners. I crossed over the water of Naharin, while they were in my hand, to . . . ; I set them before my lord. He rewarded me with a great reward. . . .

I beheld the royal victories of the king Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life, in the country of Senzar (on the Orontes), when he made a great slaughter among them. I fought hand to hand before the king, I brought off a hand there. He gave to me the gold of honor. . . .

Again I beheld his bravery while I was among his followers. He captured the city of Kadesh. I was not absent from the place where he was. I brought off two men, lords, as living prisoners. I set them before the king, the lord of the two lands, Thutmose, living forever. He gave to me gold, because of bravery, before the whole people. . . . [Here follows a fragmentary account]. Again I beheld his victory in the country of Tikhsi the wretched, in the city of Mero. I fought hand to hand therein before the king. I

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 227 ff. This is an account of the experiences of one of Thutmose's officers during his campaigns in Syria. It is, therefore, merely parallel with the above campaign accounts.

brought off Asiatics, three men, as living prisoners. . . . [Here follows the account of an elephant hunt in Niy].

The prince of Kadesh sent forth a mare before the army in order to — them, she entered among the army. I pursued after her on foot, with my sword, and I ripped open her belly; I cut off her tail, I set it before the king; while there was thanksgiving to God for it. He gave me joy, it filled my body, with rejoicing he endued my limbs.

His majesty sent forth every valiant man of his army, in order to pierce the wall for the first time, which Kadesh had made. I was the one who pierced it, being the first of all the valiant. No other before me did it. I went forth, I brought off two men, lords, as living prisoners. Again my lord rewarded me because of it, with every good thing for satisfying the heart of the king's presence.

The *Fragments of Karnak Pylon VII* [1] contain records of Thutmose III's campaigns and spoil taken; and the *Building Inscription of Karnak Ptah-Temple* [2] refers to the capture of Megiddo.

Hymn of Victory

Utterance of Amon-Rē, lord of Thebes:

Thou comest to me, thou exultest, seeing my beauty,
O my son, my avenger, Menkheperre, living for ever.
I shine for love of thee,
My heart is glad at thy beautiful comings into my temple;
My two hands furnish thy limbs with protection and life.
How pleasing is thy pleasantness toward my body.
I have established thee in my dwelling,
I have worked a marvel for thee;

[1] Legrain, *Annales du Service*, II, 272–279, IV, Pl. III.
[2] Legrain, *op. cit.*, III, 107–111.

I have given to thee might and victory against all countries,
I have set thy fame even the fear of thee in all lands.
Thy terror as far as the four pillars of heaven;
I have magnified the dread of thee in all bodies,
I have put the roaring of thy majesty among the Nine Bows.
The chiefs of all countries are gathered in thy grasp,
I myself have stretched out my two hands,
I have bound them for thee.
I have bound together the Nubian Troglodytes by tens of thousands and thousands,
The Northerners by hundreds of thousands as captives.
I have felled thine enemies beneath thy sandals,
Thou hast smitten the hordes of rebels according as I commanded thee.
The earth in its length and breadth, Westerners and Easterners are subject to thee,
Thou tramplest all countries, thy heart glad;
None presents himself before thy majesty,
While I am thy leader, so that thou mayest reach them.
Thou hast crossed the water of the Great Bend (i.e., the Euphrates) of Naharin with victory, with might,
I have decreed for thee that they hear thy roarings and enter into caves;
I have deprived their nostrils of the breath of life.
I have set the terrors of thy majesty in their hearts,
My serpent-diadem upon thy brow, it consumes them,
It makes captive by the hair the Kode-folk,
It devours those who are in their marshes with its flame.
Cut down are the heads of the Asiatics, their remnant is not;
Fallen are the children of their mighty ones.
I have caused thy victories to circulate among all lands,
My serpent-diadem gives light to thy dominion,
There is no rebel of thine as far as the circuit of heaven;
They come, bearing tribute upon their backs,
Bowing down to thy majesty according to my command.
I have made powerless the invaders who came before thee;

Their hearts burned, their limbs trembling.
I have come, causing thee to smite the princes of Zahi;
I have hurled them beneath thy feet among their highlands.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as lord of radiance,
So that thou hast shone in their faces like my image.
I have come, causing thee to smite the Asiatics,
Thou hast made captive the heads of the Asiatics of Retenu.
I have caused them to see thy majesty equipped with thy adornment,
When thou takest the weapons of war in the chariot,
I have come, causing thee to smite the eastern land,
Thou hast trampled those who are in the districts of God's-Land.
I have caused them to see thy majesty like a circling star,
When it scatters its flame in fire, and gives forth its dew.
I have come, causing thee to smite the western land,
Keftyew and Cyprus are in terror.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a young bull,
Firm of heart, ready-horned, irresistible.
I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in their marshes,
The lands of Mitanni tremble for fear of thee.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a crocodile,
Lord of fear in the water, unapproachable.
I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in the isles;
Those who are in the midst of the Great Green (Sea) hear thy roarings.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as an avenger
Who rises upon the back of his slain victim.
I have come, causing thee to smite the Tehenu (Libyans),
The isles of the Utentyew are subject to the might of thy prowess.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a fierce-eyed lion,
Thou makest them corpses in their valleys.
I have come, causing thee to smite the uttermost ends of the lands,

That which the Great Circle encircles is inclosed in thy grasp.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a lord of the wing,
Who seizeth upon that which he seeth, as much as he desires.
I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in front of their land.
Thou hast smitten the Sand-dwellers as living captives.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a southern jackal,
Lord of running, stealthy-going, who roves the Two Lands.
I have come, causing thee to smite the Nubian Troglodytes,
As far as . . . they are in thy grasp.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as thy two brothers,
I have united their two arms for thee in victory.
Thy two sisters, I have set them as protection behind thee,
The arms of my majesty are above, warding off evil.
I have caused thee to reign, my beloved son,
Horus, Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, whom I have begotten, in uprightness of heart.
Thutmose, living for ever, who hast done for me all that my *ka* desired;
Thou hast erected my dwelling as an everlasting work,
Enlarging and extending it more than the past, which had been done.
The great doorway . . .
Thou hast fêted the beauty of Amon-Rē,
Thy monuments are greater than those of any king who has been.
When I commanded thee to do it, I was satisfied therewith;
I established thee upon the Horus-throne of millions of years;
Thou shalt continue life. . . .[1]

There is an interesting scene on the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, high priest of Amon, in the time of

[1] Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, N. S., IV; Mariette, *Album photographique*, Pl. 32; Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 11; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 262 ff.

Thutmose III, which represents him as treasurer receiving magnificent tributes of vessels of gold, silver, etc., from Asiatics. These people are referred to as "the chief of Keftyew, the chief of Kheta, the chief of Tunip, the chief of Kadesh."

Amenhotep II, 1448–1420 B. C.

On the death of Thutmose III, Syria revolted. Amenhotep accordingly marched into northern Syria, and, after many victories, set up his tablet in Naharin. When he returned to Egypt he took with him seven princes whom he sacrificed to Amon.

Karnak Stela

His majesty was in the city of Shemesh-Edom (in the north of Palestine). His majesty furnished an example of bravery there. His majesty himself fought hand to hand. Behold, he was like a fierce-eyed lion, smiting the countries of Lebanon.

First month of the third season, day 26; his majesty crossed over the ford of the Orontes on this day, caused to cross . . . like the might of Montu of Thebes. His majesty raised his arm, in order to see the end of the earth. His majesty saw a few Asiatics coming on horses . . . coming at a gallop. Behold, his majesty was equipped with his weapons of battle, his majesty conquered with the might of Set in his hour. They retreated when his majesty looked at one of them. Then his majesty himself overthrew their . . . with his spear. . . . Behold, he carried away this Asiatic . . . his horses, his chariot, and all his weapons of battle. His majesty returned with joy of heart to his father, Amon. He gave to him a feast. . . .

Second month of the third season, day 10; passing southward towards Egypt, his majesty proceeded by horse to the city of Niy. Behold these Asiatics of this city, men as well as women, were upon their walls praising his majesty. . . .

Behold, his majesty heard saying, that some of those Asiatics who were in the city of Ikathi had plotted to make a plan for casting out the infantry of his majesty who were in the city, in order to overturn . . . who were loyal to his majesty. Then his majesty put them in . . . in this city . . . and he pacified this city. . . . His majesty . . . the tribe of Khatithana united. . . . His chiefs, his wives, his children were carried captive, and all his people likewise. . . .

. . . day 27; his majesty went forth from the house of the Beautiful-of-Face (Ptah) and proceeded to . . . Memphis, bearing the plunder which he had taken in the country of Retenu. [Here follows a list of tribute].[1]

Amada and Elephantiné Stelae

References in the text of these stelae are made to the Retenu, and it is here that we learn about the sacrifice of the seven Asiatic princes: "When his majesty returned with joy of heart to his father, Amon, he slew with his own weapon the seven princes who had been in the district of Tikhsi." [2]

The Karnak Chapel monument [3] has a relief showing Amenhotep II leading Asiatic captives to Amon. The prisoners come from: Upper Retenu,

[1] Wiedemann, *PSBA*, XI, 422–423; Legrain, *Annales*, IV, 126–132; Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 305 ff.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. V, III, 65, *a;* Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 309 ff.

[3] Legrain, *Annales*, V, 34–35.

Lower Retenu, Kharu, Kadesh, Aleppo, Niy, Sezar (Senzar), Thenew, and Ketne.

The TURRA INSCRIPTION [1] has the following interesting phrase: "Who (the king) erected tablets in the land of Naharin."

THUTMOSE IV, 1420–1411 B. C.

Although we have not much connected material about Thutmose IV's relations with Syria yet it seems certain that he still held sway in that country; and though Naharin paid tribute, yet he found it necessary to carry on a campaign there. A fragmentary text refers to that "which his majesty captured in Naharin, the wretched, on his first victorious campaign." An officer of Thutmose calls himself the "attendant of the king on his expeditions in the south and north countries; going from Naharin to Karoy behind his majesty, while he was upon the battlefield; companion of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, chief of the stable of his majesty, high priest of Onouris, Amenhotep, triumphant." Other inscriptions have the following important references: "Bringing in the tribute of Naharin by the princes of this country"; "Bringing in the tribute of Retenu"; "Settlement of the 'Fortress of Menkheprure,' with Syrians, which his majesty captured in the city of . . . Gezer?"

The Obelisk in Rome tells of cedar which Thutmose IV cut in Retenu, and the stela of Semen in Paris calls him "conqueror of Syria." [2]

[1] Vyse, *Pyramids*, III, 95.

[2] See Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 320 ff., for information about the inscriptions of the reign of Thutmose IV.

Amenhotep III, 1411–1375 B. C.

This sovereign inherited an empire of the greatest splendor, and exceedingly vast. Nubia paid tribute, and his sway in Asia was unchallenged. There was carried on between Egypt and the different Asiatic nations, such as Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, Syria, etc., a lively communication which we have fortunately preserved to us in the Tell el-Amarna Letters, which were written in the Babylonian language. This correspondence was kept up till late in the reign of Amenhotep's son and successor, Amenhotep IV or Ikhnaton.

The letters show us that a marriage was arranged between a daughter of Amenhotep III and a Babylonian king, and Amenhotep himself married Gilukhipa daughter of the king of Mitanni. Although his sway in Syria seemed to be unquestioned, we learn from a tablet of victory (Petrie, *Six Temples*, X) that it was necessary for him to make a campaign there when he smote the "Naharin with his mighty sword." A scarab published in *PSBA*, XXI, p. 155, refers to him as "conqueror of Shinar" although there is no further light on this matter. However, things were beginning to change in Asia; the Hittites were beginning to attack northern Syria; and the Khabiri (Hebrews) were knocking at the door of Palestine.

Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton), 1375–1358 B. C.

In Ikhnaton we have the most remarkable personality known to ancient literature. Instead of governing his vast empire, he devoted his time to religious

reforms, and introduced into Egyptian religious thought a real though perhaps not an ethical monotheism. During his reign letters poured in from his Asiatic vassals asking for aid against the fast approaching Hebrews, but to all this he turned a deaf ear. As a result the Hebrews invaded Palestine; the Hittites seized Syria; and the complete dissolution of his Asiatic empire ensued. Palestine was thus lost to Egypt till the days of Seti I, 1313 B. C., when it was again recovered. It must be noticed, however, that during the reign of Tutenkhamon, c. 1358–1350 B. C., tribute continued to be paid by certain Syrian states; and one of Ikhnaton's successors, namely, Harmhab of the nineteenth dynasty, c. 1350–1315 B. C., really made a campaign into Asia, as the phrase "companion of the feet of his lord (Harmhab) upon the battlefield on the day of slaying the Asiatics" would show.[1] Further, Wiedemann, in the *PSBA*, XI, 425, published a *Vienna Fragment* from which it seems that certain Asiatics ask for permission to settle in Egypt in this same reign (Harmhab).

[1] Compare the list of names of captives in the same reign. Müller, *MVAG*, 1897, III, 276–278. The pictures show that some of the captives are Asiatics.

THE EMPIRE, SECOND PERIOD, 1350–1150 B. C.

NINETEENTH TO TWENTIETH DYNASTY

SETI I, 1313–1292 B. C.

From the very beginning of his reign, Seti I laid plans for an invasion of Asia. He already knew of the invasion of the Bedwin tribes into Palestine on account of the lack of authority there; he was aware of the increasing numbers of Asiatics seeking homes in Egypt; so he lost no time in invading Palestine, taking many towns on his way, and erecting a tablet commemorating his victory in the Hauran. After receiving tribute from many quarters he returned to Egypt. The following year found him again in Palestine, attacking Kadesh, and checking the Hittite advance in the north. Sometime afterwards a treaty of peace was negotiated between him and the Hittite king, Metella.

The extensive KARNAK RELIEFS described by Breasted, in *Ancient Records*, III, pp. 37 ff., give us a series of scenes representing the wars of Seti I. There is not much explanatory matter, but the several campaigns into Asia can very well be followed. Reference is made to his "smiting the Asiatics" and "making his boundary as far as his desire places it." He extends "the boundaries of Egypt as far as the heavens on every side." He vanquished the Shasu (Bedwins); a town of Pekanan (Canaan); captured Peher and Bethshael in the plain of Jezreel; and marched to

Akko, Tyre, and Othu. He then proceeds further north receiving submission and tribute. He passed Simyra and reached Ullaza. When he returned to Egypt he took with him many captives and much tribute. There is a reference to the "great chiefs of Retenu whom his majesty carried off as living captives."

Seti punished the Bedwin because of their invasion of Palestine and upsetting his authority there. These Bedwin are identified by Breasted with the Khabiri of the Tell el-Amarna Letters, and he is undoubtedly right. An inscription reads: "One came to say to his majesty: 'The vanquished Shasu, they plan rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are gathered together, rising against the Asiatics of Kharu (Palestinians). They have taken to cursing, and quarreling, each of them slaying his neighbor, and they disregard the laws of the palace.'" For this the king severely punishes them, "he leaves not a limb among them, and he that escapes his hand, as a living captive, is carried off to Egypt."

Shasu and Retenu prisoners are presented to Amon in great detail together with a numerous tribute. The prisoners are then slain before Amon.

A list on a sphinx in his temple at Kurna preserves the names of many places in Asia taken by Seti. Some of them are: Kheta, Naharin, Alasa, Akko, Simyra, Peher, Bethshael, Khamehem, Yenoam, Ullaza, Kemed, Tyre, Othu, Bethanath, Keremim.

The first battle on record between Egypt and the Hittites is recorded on the KARNAK RELIEFS. One text reads: "The wretched land of the Hittites among whom his majesty made a great slaughter"; and another refers to Seti as the mighty Bull "smiting the Asiatics, beating down the Hittites, slaying their

chiefs . . . charging among them like a tongue of fire, making them as that which is not." Many Hittite prisoners and much spoil are taken to Egypt and presented to Amon.

Rameses II, 1292–1225 B. C.

It was the height of Rameses' ambition to regain the great Asiatic empire of his forefathers. Accordingly, very early in his reign he set out for Palestine and Syria, his first object being to get control of Kadesh, the key to the Orontes and the stronghold of the Hittites. The Hittites were prepared for him, and there followed a long and doubtful battle at Kadesh, the result of which was not very creditable to either side. No sooner had Rameses returned to Egypt than the princes of Syria and Palestine revolted again. This recalled him to Asia, when he extended his conquests as far as Naharin where he set up a statue of himself. In 1272 B. C. a permanent treaty of peace was made with Khetasar, the Hittite king, which was inscribed on a silver tablet. This treaty, which lasted all the long life of the "Pharaoh of the Oppression," was further cemented by the marriage of the king to two daughters of the Hittite monarch.

Battle of Kadesh

I Poem of Pentaur. Beginning of the victory of king Usermare-Setepnere (Rameses II), who is given life forever, which he achieved in the land of Kheta and Naharin, in the land of Arvad, in Pedes, in the Derden, in the land of Mesa, in the land of Kelekesh, . . . Carchemish, Kode, in the land of Kadesh, in the land of Ekereth, and Mesheneth. . . .

Behold, his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, the Sherden (Sardinians) of the captivity of his majesty from the victories of his sword. . . . They gave the plan of battle. His majesty proceeded northward, his infantry and his chariotry being with him. He began to march the goodly way. Year 5, the second month of the third season, on the ninth day, his majesty passed the fortress of Tharu . . . like Montu when he goes forth. Every country trembled before him, fear was in their hearts; all the rebels came bowing down for fear of the fame of his majesty, when his army came upon the narrow road, being like one who is upon the highway of . . .

Now after many days after this, behold, his majesty was in Usermare-Meriamon (south-Lebanon), the city of . . . cedar. His majesty proceeded northward, and he then arrived at the highland of Kadesh. Then his majesty marched before, like his father, Montu lord of Thebes, and crossed over the channel of the Orontes, there being with him the first division of Amon (named): "Victory-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere."

When his majesty reached the city (Kadesh), behold, the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta had come, having gathered together all countries from the ends of the sea to the land of Kheta, which came entire: The Naharin likewise, and Arvad . . . Mesa, Keshkesh, Kelekesh, Luka, Kezweden, Carchemish, Ekereth, Kode, the whole land of Nuges, Mesheneth and Kadesh. He left not a country which was not brought, together with their chiefs who were with him, every man bringing his chariotry, an exceeding great multitude, without its equal. They covered the mountains and the valleys; they were like grasshoppers with their numbers. He left neither silver nor gold in his land but he plundered it, all of its possessions, and gave to every country in order to bring them with him to battle.

Behold, the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta, together with the numerous allied countries, were stationed, con-

cealed in battle array, behind the city of Kadesh, while his majesty was alone by himself, with his bodyguard, and the division of Amon was marching behind him. The division of Rē crossed over the river-bed on the south side of the town of Shabtuna (short distance south of Kadesh), at the distance of an *iter* (about 1½ miles) from the division of Amon. . . . The division of Ptah was on the south of the city of Aranami (south of Shabtuna); and the division of Sutekh was marching upon the road. His majesty had formed the first rank of all the leaders of his army, while they were on the shore of the land of the Amor (Mediterranean). Behold, the wretched, vanquished, chief of Kheta was stationed in the midst of the infantry which was with him, and he came not out to fight, for fear of his majesty. Then he caused the people of the chariotry to go, an exceedingly vast multitude like the sand, being three people to each span. Now, they had made their combinations (thus): among every three youths was one man of the vanquished of Kheta, equipped with all the weapons of battle, Lo, they had stationed them in battle array, concealed behind the city of Kadesh.

They came forth from the south side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Rē in its middle, while they were marching without knowing and without being drawn up for battle. The infantry and chariotry of his majesty retreated before them. Now, his majesty had halted on the north of the city of Kadesh, on the west side of the Orontes. Then came one to tell it to his majesty.

His majesty shone like his father Montu, when he took the adornments of war; as he seized his coat of mail, he was like Baal in his hour. The great span which bore his majesty, called: "Victory-in-Thebes," from the great stables of Rameses, was in the midst of the leaders. His majesty halted in the rout; then he charged into the foe, vanquished the Kheta, being alone by himself and none other with him. When his majesty went to look behind him, he found 2,500

chariotry surrounding him, in his way out, being all the youth of the wretched Kheta, together with its numerous allied countries: from Arvad, from Mesa, from Pedes, from Keshkesh, from Erwenet, from Kezweden, from Aleppo, Eketeri, Kadesh, and Luka, being three men to a span, acting in unison. [Here follows a section which on account of its idealized incidents is not considered very reliable. Rameses failed to take Kadesh].[1]

II *Prose Record.* Year 5, third month of the third season, day 9; under the majesty of Horus. [Here follow titles.]

Behold, his majesty was in Zahi on his second victorious campaign. The goodly watch in life, in prosperity and in health, in the tent of his majesty, was on the highland south of Kadesh.

When his majesty appeared like the rising of Rē, he assumed the adornments of his father, Montu. When the king proceeded northward, and his majesty had arrived at the locality south of the town of Shabtuna, there came two Shasu, to speak to his majesty as follows: "Our brethren, who belong to the greatest of the families with the vanquished chief of Kheta; for the vanquished chief of Kheta sits in the land of Aleppo on the north side of Tunip. He fears because of Pharaoh to come south." Now, these Shasu speak these words, which they spoke to his majesty, falsely, (for) the vanquished chief of Kheta caused them to come to spy where his majesty was, in order to cause the army of his majesty not to draw up for fighting him, to battle with the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Behold, the vanquished chief of Kheta came with every chief of every country, their infantry and their chariotry, which he had brought with him by force, and stood, equipped,

[1] Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, IV, 206–248; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 29–32, 40–42; Daressy, *RE*, IX, 58; Mariette, *Karnak*, 48–51; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 4–5; J. de Rougé, *RE*, III–IX; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, pp. 135 ff., and the same author's *Battle of Kadesh*.

drawn up in line of battle behind Kadesh the Deceitful, while his majesty knew it not. Then his majesty proceeded northward and arrived on the northwest of Kadesh; and the army of his majesty made camp there.

Then, as his majesty sat upon a throne of gold, there arrived a scout who was in the following of his majesty, and he brought two scouts of the vanquished chief of Kheta. They were conducted into the presence, and his majesty said to them: "What are ye?" They said: "As for us, the vanquished chief of the Kheta has caused us to come to spy out where his majesty is." Said his majesty to them: "He! Where is he, the vanquished chief of Kheta? Behold, I have heard, saying: 'He is in the land of Aleppo.'" They said: "See, the vanquished chief of Kheta is stationed, together with many countries, which he has brought with him by force, being every country which is in the districts of the land of Kheta, the land of Naharin, and all Kode. They are equipped with infantry and chariotry, bearing their weapons; more numerous are they than the sand of the sea. See, they are standing, drawn up for battle, behind Kadesh the Deceitful."

Then his majesty had the princes called into the presence, and had them hear every word which the two scouts of the vanquished chief of the Kheta, who were in the presence, had spoken. Said his majesty to them: "See ye the manner wherewith the chiefs of the infantry (or, peasantry) and the officials under whom is the land of Pharaoh have stood daily, saying to the pharaoh: 'the vanquished chief of Kheta is in the land of Aleppo; he has fled before his majesty, since he heard that, behold, he came.' So spoke they to his majesty daily. But see, I have a hearing in this very hour, with the two scouts of the vanquished chief of Kheta, to the effect that the vanquished chief of Kheta is coming, together with the numerous countries that are with him, being people and horses, like the multitudes of the sand, they are stationed behind Kadesh the Deceitful. But the governors

of the countries and the officials under whose authority is the land of Pharaoh were not able to tell it to us."

The princes who were in the presence of his majesty said: "It is a great fault, which the governors of the countries and the officials of Pharaoh have committed in not informing that the vanquished chief of Kheta was near the king; and in that they told his report to his majesty daily."

Then the vizier was ordered to hasten the army of his majesty, while they were marching on the south of Shabtuna, in order to bring them to the place where his majesty was.

Lo, while his majesty sat talking with the princes, the vanquished chief of Kheta came, and the numerous countries, which were with him. They crossed over the channel on the south side of Kadesh, and charged into the army of his majesty while they were marching, and not expecting it. Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty retreated before them, northward to the place where his majesty was. Lo, the foes of the vanquished chief of Kheta surrounded the bodyguard of his majesty, who were by his side.

When his majesty saw them, he was enraged against them, like his father, Montu, lord of Thebes. He seized the adornments of battle, and arrayed himself in his coat of mail. He was like Baal in his hour. Then he betook himself to his horses, and led on quickly, being alone by himself. He charged into the foes of the vanquished chief of Kheta, and the numerous countries which were with him. His majesty was like Sutekh, the great in strength, smiting and slaying among them; his majesty hurled them headlong, one upon another into the water of the Orontes.

"I charged all countries, while I was alone, my infantry and my chariotry having forsaken me. Not one among them stood to turn about. I swear, as Rē loves me, as my father, Atum, favors me, that as for every matter which

his majesty has stated, I did it in truth, in the presence of my infantry and my chariotry." [1]

III. *Scene Record.* There are many valuable and interesting reliefs depicting the battle of Kadesh cut on the walls of many temples in Egypt. They have been published by Guieysse, *Recueil*, VIII, 120–143; and by Breasted, *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. I–VII. The scenes are very vivid, representing a council of war, preparations for battle, battle views, captives, etc. Each scene is furnished with explanatory notes.

Revolt and Reconquest of Palestine

The wretched city, which his majesty captured, when it rebelled, Askalon: It (i.e., the city) says: "It is joy to be subject to thee, and delight to cross thy boundaries. Take thou the heritage, that we may speak of thy valor in all unknown countries" [2] [the re-taking of northern Palestine is depicted in scenes showing series of cities from which the Egyptians are driving prisoners. The sentence "city which his majesty plundered in the year eight" occurs beside each city. The following are a few of the city-names which have survived: "city on the mound of Bethanath," Merem (Hebrew, Merom), Sherem (Hebrew, Salom), Deper, "in the land of Amor." The accompanying inscriptions are historically unimportant].

Campaign in Naharin

King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, son of Rē: Rameses-Meriamon, given life. The king himself, he says: "I swear as Rē loves me, as my father Autum favors me, as my nostrils are rejuvenated with satisfying

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. VI, III, 153; Bd. VII, III, 187, *c-e;* Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 53; Breasted, *op. cit.* III, pp. 142 ff.; Breasted, *Battle of Kadesh.*

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. VI, III, 145, c.

life. . . ." As for this overthrow, they stood fighting the city of Kheta, wherein the statue of his majesty was. His majesty made it . . . his infantry and his chariotry. His majesty was at the front of his infantry and his chariotry . . . the vanquished of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip in the land of Naharin. His majesty took his coat of mail . . . twice. He stood fighting the city of the vanquished Kheta, at the front of his infantry and his chariotry . . . not having his coat of mail upon him. His majesty came to take his coat of mail again. It was placed upon him, when . . . the vanquished of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip in the land of Naharin, while his coat of mail was not upon him [1] [there are extant lists of places which Rameses conquered at this time; among them are: Naharin, Lower Retenu, Arvad, Keftyew, Ketne. The names Shinar, Asshur, Cyprus, etc., indicate the extent of his influence].

The famous *Treaty of the Hittites*,[2] one of the most remarkable of ancient documents, shows us that Egypt met her match in the Hittite empire under the leadership of the great king Khetasar. The text of the treaty was written on a silver tablet and contained, in eighteen paragraphs, full details of the treaty of peace between the two countries. The contents of the text do not bear closely enough upon Syria and Palestine to be reproduced here.

Merneptah, 1225–1215 B. C.

Merneptah the so-called "Pharaoh of the Exodus" was an old man when he came to the throne. He had been reigning only about three years when he became

[1] Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 51.

[2] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, pp. 163 ff.; Müller, *MVAG*, 1902, 5.

aware of the wide-spread revolt in his Asiatic dominions. According to his accounts, he quickly proceeded to Palestine and Syria where nothing but victory awaited him. Among the peoples conquered were some Israel tribes who were in Palestine but perhaps not yet in any settled condition. Meanwhile Egypt was attacked from the West, and from the North across the sea. This attack was, however, soon repulsed.

"Israel Stela"

The so-called "Israel Stela" really contains a hymn of victory over the Libyans. The concluding twelve lines of the text contain a general account of the subjugation of certain foreign peoples among whom is Israel. It belongs to the year five.

> The kings are overthrown, saying: "Salam!"
> No one holds up his head among the Nine Bows.
> Wasted is Tehenu,
> Kheta is pacified,
> Plundered is Pekanan ("the Canaan"), with every evil,
> Carried off is Askalon,
> Seized upon is Gezer,
> Yenoam is made as a thing not existing.
> Israel is desolate, his seed is not;
> Palestine has become a widow for Egypt.
> All lands are united, they are pacified;
> Everyone that is turbulent is bound by king Merneptah, given life like Rē, every day.[1]

We learn from the "daybook of a frontier official" [2] that Merneptah in his third year was in Syria.

[1] Spiegelberg, *Six Temples*, Pls. XIII–XIV.

[2] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, pp. 270 ff.; Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, 29, 32.

"Year three, first month of the third season (ninth month), fifteenth day:

There went up the servant of Baal, Roy, son of Zeper of Gaza, who had with him for Syria two different letters, to wit: (for) the captain of infantry, Khay,[1] one letter; (for) the chief of Tyre, Baalat-Remeg, one letter.

Year three, first month of the third season (ninth month), seventeenth day: there arrived the captains of the archers of the Well of Merneptah-Hotephirma, which is on the highway, to report in the fortress which is in Tharu."

"Year three, first month of the third season (ninth month), . . . day: There returned the attendant, Thutiy, son of Thekerem of Geket (Gaza?); Methdet, son of Shem-Baal (of) the same (town); Sutekhmose, son of Eperdegel (of) the same (town), who had with him, for the place where the king was (for), the captain of infantry, Khay,[1] gifts and a letter."

Rameses III, 1198–1167 B. C.

Early in the reign of Rameses III the Mediterranean peoples, among whom were the Peleset (Philistines) of Crete, began to press down along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. This needed immediate attention. Rameses, accordingly, set out for Syria, and (as we learn chiefly from reliefs, and partly from general statements) defeated the enemy both by land and by sea.

After a few years he was again called upon to act in Asia, and this time he found the Hittites so weakened by repeated onslaughts of the Mediterranean peoples that they no longer inspired fear.

[1] These points prove that Merneptah was now in Syria.

Medinet Habu Inscriptions

"The northern countries are unquiet in their limbs, even the Peleset (Philistines), the Thekel, who devastate. Their soul came in the last extremity. They were warriors upon land, also in the sea. Those who came on land . . . Amon-Rē was behind them, destroying them; those who entered into the river-mouths were like wild fowl, creeping into the net, made . . . their arms. Their hearts fluttered, so transported that they were no longer in their bodies. Their leaders were carried off, slain, thrown prostrate. They were made captives. . . ." [1]

"The countries . . . , the Northerners in their isles were disturbed, taken away in the fray . . . at one time. Not one stood before their hands, from Kheta, Kode, Carchemish, Arvad, Alasa, they were wasted. They set up a camp in one place in Amor. They desolated his people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward to Egypt. Their main support was Peleset, Thekel, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh. These lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land as far as the circle of the earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their plans."

"Now, it happened through this god, the lord of gods, that I was prepared and armed to trap them like wild fowl. He furnished my strength and caused my plans to prosper. I went forth, directing these marvellous things. I equipped my frontier in Zahi, prepared before them. The chiefs, the captains of infantry, the nobles, I caused to equip the harbor mouths, like a strong wall, with warships, galleys, and barges. . . . They were manned completely from bow to stern with valiant warriors bearing their arms, soldiers of all the choicest of Egypt, being like lions roaring upon the mountain-tops. The charioteers were warriors . . . and all

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, pp. 24–25.

good officers, ready of hand. Their horses were quivering in their every limb, ready to crush the countries under their feet. I was the valiant Montu, stationed before them, that they might behold the hand-to-hand fighting of my arms. I, king Rameses III, was made a far-striding hero, conscious of his might, valiant to lead his army in the day of battle."

"Those who reached my boundary, their seed is not; their heart and their soul are finished for ever and ever. As for those who had assembled before them on the sea, the full flame was in their front, before the harbor-mouths, and a wall of metal upon the shore surrounded them. They were dragged, overturned, and laid low upon the beach; slain and made heaps from stern to bow of their galleys, while all their things were cast upon the water. Thus I turned back the waters to remember Egypt; when they mention my name in their land, may it consume them, while I sit upon the throne of Harakhte, and the serpent-diadem is fixed upon my head, like Rē. I permit not the countries to see the boundaries of Egypt to . . . among them. As for the Nine Bows, I have taken away their land and their boundaries; they are added to mine. Their chiefs and their people come to me with praise. I carried out the plans of the All-Lord, the august, divine father, lord of the gods." [1] [Then follows a song of triumph].

A series of reliefs depict in great detail a naval war against the invading peoples of Asia Minor, and the march of the Egyptian troops into Syria. There are accompanying explanatory inscriptions in which the Philistines and Asiatics are frequently mentioned.

Other reliefs depict a later war with Syria. The explanatory matter, however, is exceedingly meagre. The pictures show the storming of several large cities,

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, pp. 37–39.

among them being "the city of Amor," Levi-El (Shiloh?), Shabtuna (south of Kadesh), and probably Kadesh itself. One scene is very interesting, and is accompanied by brief inscriptions. It shows seven captive chiefs who are kneeling with arms tied behind them. Their nationality is clearly indicated by their features and costumes. They are: Hittite, Amorite, Asiatic, Sherden, Bedwi, Teresh, Philistine (head lost).[1]

Papyrus Harris

The closing portion of this remarkable document contains a brief historical account of the reign of Rameses III. This papyrus is the largest manuscript extant, being 133 feet long, and containing 117 columns of twelve or thirteen lines each.[2]

War with Asiatics

I extended all the boundaries of Egypt; I overthrew those who invaded them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their isles, the Thekel and the Peleset were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the sea, they were made as those that exist not, taken captive at one time, brought as captives to Egypt, like the sand of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Numerous were their classes like myriads. I taxed them all, in clothing and grain from the storehouses and granaries each year.

I destroyed the people of Seir, of the tribes of the Shasu; I plundered the tents of their people, their possessions, likewise their cattle, without number. They were bound

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. VII, III, 209, *b*.

[2] Birch, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of the Reign of Rameses III*, now in the British Museum, Pls. 75–79.

and brought as captives, as tribute of Egypt. I gave them to the gods, as slaves into their houses.

Rameses IV to Pesibkhenno II, c. 1167–945 B. C.

During the rule of the weak Ramessids, the Peleset (Philistines) gradually forged southward driving before them the remnants of the Amorites and Hittites whom we meet in Hebrew literature. The Philistines finally settled on the southwest border of Palestine in the rich sea-plain and soon came into conflict with the Hebrews who finally succeeded in penning them up in their sea-coast country.

In the reign of Rameses IX, c. 1142–1123 B. C. — if the term Khamwese in the report of Wenamon refers to this king — the pharaoh's messengers were detained as long as seventeen years in Syria, a fact which throws much light upon the estimate of Egypt's king in Syria at that time. The same conditions prevailed in the reign of Rameses XII, c. 1118–1090 B. C., when Wenamon, a royal messenger to Syria, was insulted and barely made his escape, and met with a similar reception in Cyprus.

It was near this time, c. 1100 B. C., that Tiglath-Pileser III appeared in the West and received presents of a tributary nature from the Egyptian king Nesubenebded.

During this time Egypt was so weakened and the Assyrians so busy at home that the Hebrews were given an opportunity to establish a kingdom, after the conquest of Canaan. They developed and extended it till in the days of Solomon it could well claim the name of "Empire."

The Report of Wenamon [1]

This document, belonging to the fifth year of Rameses XII, c. 1113 B. C., throws a good deal of light upon Egypt's position in Syria during this period. In the "year five, third month of the third season," Wenamon departed from Thebes to secure timber for the building of a great barge for Amen-Rē, king of the gods. After stopping at Tanis for a while, he voyaged to Dor, "a city of Thekel," and Bedel, its king, entertained him. While at Dor he was robbed of a great deal of money, and immediately reported it to the king, telling him that the money belonged to the "magnates of Egypt." The king disclaimed all responsibility, but promised to try to help him secure the thief. After a fruitless wait he departed for Tyre and then from Tyre for Byblus. On coming in contact with certain Thekel travellers, he seized their money in compensation, as he blamed the Thekelites for robbing him. When he arrived in Byblus, the prince would have none of him and ordered him to betake himself away from his harbor. Finally Wenamon gains an audience with Zakar-Baal, the prince, who demands his passport. Wenamon explains his business in Syria, and Zakar-Baal makes clear to him that he considers himself absolutely independent of Egypt. The prince said: "As for me, I am myself neither thy servant nor am I the servant of him who sent thee." In reply Wenamon claims that Lebanon and her princes really belong to Amon. He, however, succeeded in persuading Zakar-Baal to ship timber to Egypt and send his

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, pp. 274 ff.

messengers for pay which was promptly given. Then some timber was delivered to Wenamon himself. Here occurs the reference to "the messengers of Khamwese" who is identified with Rameses IX.

Wenamon's troubles were not yet over. The Thekelites in eleven ships made a raid upon Wenamon's timber. Wenamon appealed to the prince, and so did the Thekelites. Zakar-Baal's decision was: "I cannot arrest the messenger of Amon in my land. Let me send him away, and ye shall pursue him to arrest him." Wenamon managed to escape to Alasa (Cyprus) where he just escaped death at the hands of the Cyprians through the favor of the queen. Here the report is broken off.

Sheshonk I, 945–924 B. C.

1 *K.* 14

The Biblical Shishak now sat on the Egyptian throne, and his action in giving Solomon his daughter to wife and also in presenting him with Gezer as a gift shows that the power of the pharaoh in Palestine was not yet dead. Some years afterwards, profiting by internal strife in Israel and the division of the Hebrew kingdom, Sheshonk invaded Palestine about 926, and according to the Biblical record entered Jerusalem and took away much of its wealth. Sheshonk also took the "Field of Abram," a town in Palestine not yet identified. This expedition is depicted in the *Great Karnak Relief*, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 252–253, *a*, where we see the pharaoh, before his god Amon, smiting the Asiatics. The inscriptions are of such conventional nature that we are forced to depend upon the lists of names for an idea of the extent of his cam-

paigns. The following are the chief names identified: Rabbith, Taanach, Shunem, Bethshean, Rehob, Haphraim, Machanaim, Gibeon, Beth-horon, Ajalon, Megiddo, Aruna, the Field of Abram, Jordan. Altogether there are mentioned about one hundred and fifty names, of which about seventy-five are preserved. They range from Beth-Anath in the north of Galilee to Arad in the south of Judah.

Osorkon II, c. 874 to the Conquest of Cambyses, 525 B. C.

2 K. 17–18, 23; *Jer.* 44, 46–47

Lack of Egyptian and Biblical information is no proof that Egypt and Palestine did not know each other in these later days. There is hope that the new science of Archæology in time will throw as much light upon this period as it has upon other periods. Already in 1910 A. D. there was discovered in Palestine at Samaria an alabaster vase, inscribed with the name of Osorkon II, contemporary of Ahab of Israel, which is in itself evidence of intercourse between the two countries. What further excavations will bring to light remains to be seen.

The Bible tells us, 2 K. 17, that Israel and other small states were encouraged to revolt by an otherwise unknown Egyptian king called So in the time of Shalmaneser IV. This very well illustrates Egypt's policy at that time, namely, to use the Western states against the rising power of Assyria. However, the conspiracy failed, for Sargon the successor of Shalmaneser captured Samaria in 722, and in 715 extracted tribute from Egypt.

Shabaka, 712–700, continued the same Egyptian policy. It was, however, opposed in Judah by Isaiah, but soon, in the reign of Hezekiah, the Egyptian party prevailed, and in 701 Sennacherib appeared in the West. He met the Egyptian army under Taharka,[1] a nephew of Shabaka, at Altaqu the same year and completely defeated it.

There has been found in Babylonia a clay tablet bearing the seal of Shabaka and a king of Assyria. This may point to a treaty between the two powers.

During Taharka's reign, 688–663, Esarhaddon determined to put an end to Egyptian interference in the West. He accordingly attacked Egypt in 673 but was defeated. This, however, did not discourage him, and in 670 he renewed his attempt and this time met the Egyptian army in Palestine where he defeated it. He followed up his success by capturing Memphis itself, and organized northern Egypt into an Assyrian dependency. After Esarhaddon's departure the Egyptians revolted. Esarhaddon again approached Egypt, but died on his way. His son Ashurbanipal, however, took charge of the expedition and gained many victories, extending his influence as far south as Thebes.

In 663 Tanutamon succeeded his father Taharka and retook Memphis. But Ashurbanipal reappeared soon, and drove him south, taking and sacking Thebes. These Nubian kings of Egypt were thus gradually forced south, and by 560 B. C. they were occupying their capital city of Meroe south of the fifth cataract.

[1] Taharka (Biblical, Tirhakah, 2 K. 19: 9) afterwards became king of Ethiopia. But during this campaign he was commander-in-chief of Shabaka, and *not yet* "King of Ethiopia."

While Ashurbanipal was busy defending himself against the Babylonians, Psamtik I, 663–609, took Thebes. A *Statue Inscription of Hor* speaks of "doors of fine cedar of the royal domain." This shows that probably the Lebanon forests were under the pharaoh's control. From Herodotus [1] we learn that Psamtik's reign was a prosperous one, especially in a commercial way. In 640 he invaded Philistia and besieged Ashdod but because of the invasions of the Scythians from the north he was unable to accomplish much.

Necho, 609–593 B. C., was ambitious for Asiatic conquests, and in his first year he invaded Philistia with complete success (Jer. 47), and afterwards continued as far as Megiddo where he met, defeated, and slew Josiah (2 K. 23). He then proceeded to the Euphrates. On his return he summoned Jehoahaz to Riblah, imprisoned him, and set Jehoiakim on the Judaean throne (2 K. 23). Babylonia now, under its energetic king Nebuchadrezzar, gave signs of advance. Necho met him in 605 at Carchemish where Babylonia was victorious (Jer. 46), and Necho retreated to Egypt at once. Babylon now became overlord of the West (2 K. 24), and in 597 captured Jerusalem, and finally destroyed it in 586 B. C.

Apries (the Hophra of Jer. 44:30), 588–569 B. C., attacked the north of Syria in the hope of opposing Nebuchadrezzar, but without much success. In 586 his troops pushed south to aid Zedekiah, but failed in that also.[2] This was the last attempt on the part

[1] The student should here consult Greek traditions about the Egyptians collected by Herodotus the historian, especially Books II–III.

[2] See Diodorus I, 68.

of Egypt to conquer Syria-Palestine. Egypt's power was declining, and soon the end came, when Cambyses the Persian in 525 B. C. accomplished her destruction.

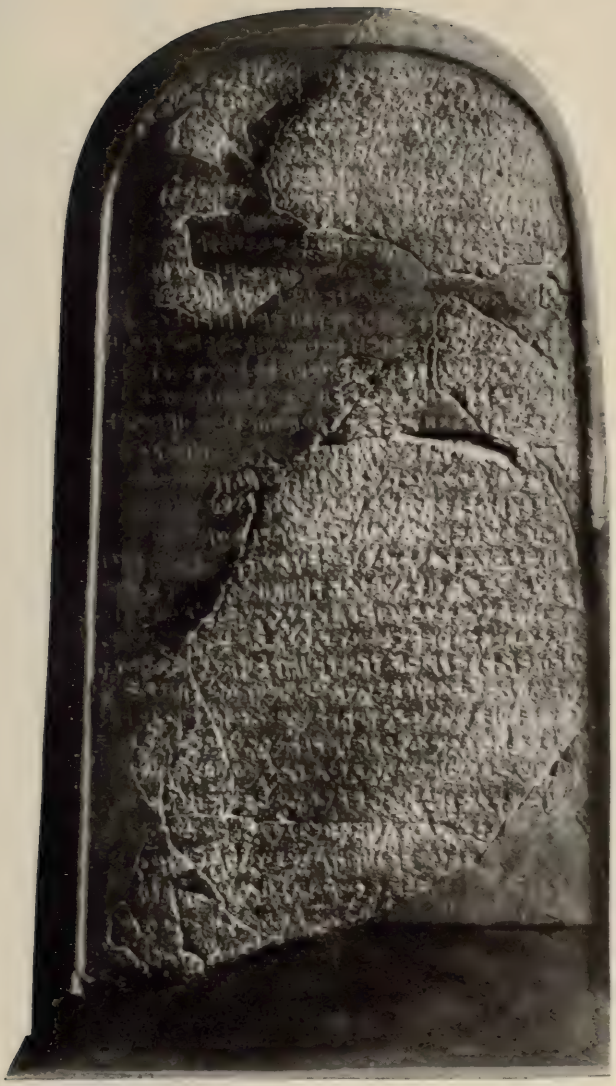
It is worthy of note that the pharaohs, as far as we know, refrained from recording their failure in Syria-Palestine which we have reviewed in this last section, and but for external evidence it, perhaps, never would have been known to us.

ASIA MINOR
Que
Mitanni
NAHARIN
Arpad
Aleppo
Araina ?
Antioch
Orontes R.
Hamath
Arrad
Cyprus
Thenew
Ketne
Sezar ?
Simyra
Kadshu (Kadesh)
Tudmur
Erkatu
(Irkata)
Shabluna
Ullaza
Ardata
Tunip
Mts.
Lebanon
Anti-Lebanon
Biruna
Merem
Shemesh-Edom
Nuges
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
(Great Sea of Khôr)
Yenoam
Sidon
Herenkeru
RETENU
Desert of Syria
Zahi
Tyre
Kadesh
Yeraza ?
Acco
Ikathi
Adamah
Rabbith
Deper
Megiddo
Merem
Shunem
Aruna
Bethshean
Taanach
Hapharaim
Shechem
Rehob
Jordan R.
Joppa
Machanaim
Gezer
Beth-Horon
Ajalon
Jericho
Jerusalem
Gideon
Gath
Heshbon
Askalon
Lachish
Dead Sea
Hebron
Dibon
Arabian Desert
Rosetta
Damietta
Pt. Said
Mt. Casius
Raphia
Arad
Alexandria
L. Menzaleh
Sharuhen
Tenenu
Buto
Beersheba
Araru
Tanis
Pelusium
Naucratis
Sais
Daphne
Tharu ?
Rehoboth
Bozra
Teman ?
GOSHEN
Pithom
Kadesh
Rameses
Leontopolis
Rekem
Desert
On (Heliopolis)
Kemwer
Cairo
Suez
Desert
Gizeh
Memphis
Ithtowe
Desert
L. Moeris
Arsinoe
Fayum
Aphroditopolis
Crocodilopolis
Hawara
Illahu
Heracleopolis
Magna
Nile
Gulf of Suez
Peninsula
of
Sinai
Elath
Sarbut
el-Khadem
Mines
Wadi
Maghara
Mines
Gulf of Akabah
ARABIA
Oxyrrynchus
Hermopolis
Magna
Beni Hasan
Tell el-Amarna
(Akhetaton)
Assiut
To Sinai Mines
RED SEA
Thinis
Abydos
Dendereh
Coptos
Kurna
Der el Bahri
Medinet Habu
Hammamat
Karnak
Thebes
Luxor
To Punt
Nekhen
El Kab (Nakheb)
Edfu
Kom Ombo
Assuan
Elephantine
1st Cataract
Philae
Syene
EGYPTIAN SECTION
MILES
0
25
50
100

OTHER SEMITIC SOURCES

THE MOABITE STONE

The Moabite Stone was discovered at Dibon by the Rev. F. Klein in 1868, and is now in the Louvre. It commemorates the success of Mesha, king of Moab, against Israel. It was dedicated by Mesha to his god Kemosh about 850 B. C. *A translation will be found on pages 147–149.*



THE MOABITE STONE

OTHER SEMITIC SOURCES

There are a good many inscriptions in Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic, Nabataean, South Arabian, and other Semitic languages and dialects, but very few of them are valuable for the study of Old Testament History. Those that are valuable are given below in translation.

The Moabite Stone

The Moabite stone is an inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, a contemporary of Ahab of Israel. It was found at the ancient Dibon in 1868 A. D., and is now preserved in the Louvre. It commemorates the successful efforts made by Mesha to throw off the yoke of Israel. Omri had oppressed Moab many days, and a sanctuary of Yahweh (Jehovah) had been erected at Nebo. Omri's successor, Ahab, exacted heavy tribute from Mesha (2 K. 3). While Ahab was busy with Syria (1 K. 22) Mesha revolted. 2 K. 1:1, 3:5, which indicate that the revolt took place *after* the death of Ahab, are thus corrected by this contemporary document.

I am Mesha, son Kemosh [-melekh], king of Moab, the Dibonite.

My father was king over Moab thirty years, and I became king after my father. And I made this high-place for Kemosh in Khorkhah, [a high-place of salvation], because he saved me from all the [king]s, and because he caused me to see my desire upon all them that hated me.

Omri, king of Israel, — he afflicted Moab many days, because Kemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he said (thus). But I saw my desire upon him and upon his house, and Israel perished utterly for ever.

Now Omri took possession of the land of Medeba, and (Israel) dwelt in it, his days and half his sons' days, forty years; but Kemosh restored it in my days.

And I built Baal-Meon, and I made therein the reservoir, and I built Kirjathaim.

And the men of Gad occupied the land of Ataroth from of old; and the king of Israel built Ataroth for himself. And I fought against the city and took it, and put to death all the people from the city, a gazingstock unto Kemosh and unto Moab, and I removed thence the altar-hearth of DWDH, and I dragged it before Kemosh in Kerioth, and I caused the men of Sharon and the men of Makharath to settle therein.

And Kemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. And I went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn till the noontide, and I took it and slew all, 7,000 men and . . . s and women and . . . s and female slaves, for I had devoted it to Ashtar-Kemosh; and I took thence the al[tar] of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Kemosh.

And the king of Israel had built Jahaz, and occupied it while he fought against me. But Kemosh drove him out before me. I took from Moab 200 men, of all its clans, and led them against Jahaz, and took it, to add it to Dibon.

I built Khorkhah, the wall of the forests, and the wall of the Citadel; and I built its gates, and I built its towers; and I built the king's house; and I made the sluices of the reserv[oir for wa]ter in the midst of the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city in Khorkhah; and I said to all the people, Make you each a cistern in his house. And I cut the cutting for Khorkhah with the help of prisoners from Israel.

I built Aroer, and I made the road by the Arnon. I built Beth-bamoth, for it had been destroyed. I built Bezer, for it was in ruins . . . [clans] of Dibon, fifty, for all Dibon was loyal. And I reigned . . . a hundred in the cities which I added to the land. And I built Medeba and Beth-diblathaim. And as for Beth-baal-meon, there I placed shepherds . . . sheep of the land.

And as for Horonaim, wherein dwelt . . . and . . . Kemosh said to me, Go down, fight against Horonaim; and I went down . . . Kemosh in my days, and . . . from there . . . and I . . .[1]

The Elephantiné Papyri

Ezra and Nehemiah

Only a few years ago, in 1907, Dr. Otto Rubensohn discovered in Elephantiné, an island in the Nile opposite Assuan, three Aramaic Papyri which are especially valuable because of their relation to the latest historical books of the Old Testament, the Chronicles, and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In language they are identical with the Aramaic chapters in Ezra and Daniel, and in phraseology they present many points of contact with the official records in Ezra.

Documents I and III are very valuable. Document II is merely a duplicate of I with slight variations.

Document I is dated in the seventeenth year of king Darius, and both Documents I and III state that the temple of Yahweh at Elephantiné was destroyed in the fourteenth year of King Darius. This Darius can be neither Darius I, 521–485 B. C., on account of the literary nature of the Documents, nor can it be Darius

[1] Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 1–2.

III, who reigned only five years. It, therefore, can only be Darius II, Nothus, 424–405 B. C. The date of the Documents is, therefore, 407 B. C. As Sanballat and the names of other contemporaries of Nehemiah are mentioned, we are safe in concluding that the Artaxerxes in whose reign Nehemiah was active is Artaxerxes I, 464–424, and not Artaxerxes II, 404–358 B. C.

Document I

To our Lord Bagohi (Bagoas), governor of Judea, thy servants, Jedoniah and his companions, the priests in the fortress of Yeb (Elephantiné); Greeting:

May our Lord, the God of heaven, grant thee peace abundantly at all times, and give thee favor before King Darius and the sons of the royal house a thousandfold more than now, and give thee long life! May joy and health be thine at all times!

Now, thy servants, Jedoniah and his companions, speak thus: In the month of Tammuz (July–August), in the 14th year of King Darius, when Arsam (Arsames) departed and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub in the fortress of Yeb entered a conspiracy with Waidrang, who was the governor here, as follows: "The temple of the god Yahu in the fortress of Yeb shall be removed." Thereupon Waidrang sent letters to his son Nephayan, who was commander of the fortress Syene, saying: "The temple in the fortress Yeb shall be destroyed." Thereupon Nephayan brought Egyptians together with other soldiers. They came to the fortress Yeb with their . . . They entered into that temple and destroyed it to the ground, and broke to pieces the pillars of stone that were there. They destroyed also the five gates, built of hewn stone, which were in the temple, and their tops . . . and bronze hinges in marble slabs and the roof, made wholly of cedar wood together with

the stucco of the wall and other things that were there, all this they burnt with fire. And the bowls of gold and silver and whatever was in the temple they took and appropriated to themselves.

And since (already in) the days of the kings of Egypt had our fathers built this temple in the fortress of Yeb. And when Cambyses entered Egypt he found this temple built, and while the temples of the gods of Egypt were then all overthrown, no one injured anything in this temple.

And since they [Waidrang and the priests of Khnub] have done this, we with our wives and children have put on sackcloth and fasted and prayed to Yahu, the Lord of heaven who gave us cognizance of Waidrang [i.e., punished him]. The chain was removed from his feet, and all the possessions which he acquired perished and all the men who wished ill to his temple were slain, and we saw it ourselves to our satisfaction.

And before this, at the time when this evil was done us, have we sent a letter to our Lord (Bagohi) and to Jehohanan (Jonathan), the high priest, and his companions, the priests in Jerusalem, and his brother Ostan, that is, Anani [Hannani] and the nobles of the Jews, but they sent us no answer. Also since the Tammuz day of the 14th year of King Darius to this day, we wear sackcloth and are fasting. Our wives have become like widows. We have not anointed ourselves with oil nor drunk wine. Neither from that day to this day of the 17th year of King Darius have meal-offerings, frankincense, or burnt-offerings been offered in this temple.

Now thy servants, Jedoniah, and his companions, and the Jews, all the citizens of Yeb, speak thus: If it seem good to our Lord, mayest thou think about this temple to rebuild it, since we are not permitted to build it, and look upon the recipients of thy benefits and of thy mercy here in Egypt. May a letter be sent from thee to them concerning the temple of Yahu that it be built again in the fortress of Yeb as it was built in former times. And we will offer meat-

offerings, and frankincense, and burnt-offerings upon the altar of the God Yahu in thy name. And we will pray for thee at all times, we and our wives and our children and all the Jews who are here when this will be done, until the temple is built. And thou shalt have a portion before Yahu, the God of heaven, from everyone who offers to him burnt-offerings and sacrifices in value equal to a silver shekel for . . .

And concerning the gold we have sent a message and made known. We have also all of us written concerning these matters in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria.

Arsam also has no knowledge of all that has been done to us.

The 20th of Marheshwan (October–November), in the 17th year of King Darius.[1]

Document III

Account of that which Bagohi and Delaiah said to me. The account is as follows: "Thou shalt speak in Egypt before Arsames concerning the altar house of the God of heaven which had been built in the fortress Yeb before our time, before Cambyses, which Waidrang that . . . has destroyed in the 14th year of King Darius. To rebuild in its place, as it was before, and meat-offerings and frankincense shall be offered upon that altar likewise as before was used to be done."[2]

The Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical historical sources for the history of the Jews are so accessible to the student that it has not been considered necessary to reproduce them here. They are of great

[1] Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, Papyrus 1.
[2] Sachau, *op. cit.*, Papyrus 3.

importance for the Persian, Greek, Maccabean, and Roman periods, and can be found in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. R. H. Charles of Oxford is about to publish a book containing the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical books in English translation. Historical references in Rabbinical literature are not of sufficient independence to be used here, though the general literature is very valuable. For Jewish coins, bearing interesting inscriptions, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*.

GREEK AND LATIN SOURCES

GREEK AND LATIN SOURCES

The chief sources in Greek for the study of Jewish history are: Josephus, *Antiquities*, Books XI–XVIII, and XX; *Against Apion*, Books I–II; *Jewish Wars*, Books I–VII; *Philo;* and the *New Testament.* These have not been reproduced here because they are accessible to all students. There are a good many Greek and Latin inscriptions and coins, but they are not important enough to be given here, especially as they are to be found in convenient form in Thomas Lewin, *Fasti Sacri;* and Madden, *Coins of the Jews.* The Latin sources are given below with the other Greek sources.

From Cyrus to Pompey, 559–66 B. C.

The Conquest of Asia Minor by Cyrus

However, Croesus, having passed the river with the army, came to a place called Pteria in Cappadocia — now Pteria is the strongest place of the whole of this country, and is situated over against Sinope, a city on the Euxine Sea. Here he encamped and ravaged the lands of the *Syrians;* and took the city of the Pterians, and enslaved the inhabitants; he also took all the neighboring places, and expelled the inhabitants, who had given him no cause for blame. But Cyrus, having assembled his own army, and having taken with him all who inhabited the *intermediate country,* went to meet Croesus. [The result of the first

battle was indecisive. Cyrus, however, persevered and defeated Croesus and extended his rule as far as the Aegean Sea].[1]

Artaxerxes III (Ochus)

The capital of Judea was Jerusalem, but it was destroyed. Jericho took its place. This also ceased, Artaxerxes having subdued it in battle.[2]

Ochus son of Artaxerxes making an expedition into Egypt took a certain part of the Jews captive, some of whom he settled in Hyrcania near the Caspian Sea, others in Babylonia, who are there even now as many of the Greeks record.[3]

Ochus destroyed Sidon, and added Egypt to his empire.[4]

Alexander and Andromachus

During the time of Alexander the Great the Jews were under the political direction of Andromachus, Greek governor of the province of Coele-Syria, whose residence was at Samaria. While Alexander was in Egypt the Samaritans

[1] Herodotus I, 76. Herodotus uses the term "Syrians in Palestine" to denote the Jews. He does not seem to know the term "Jews," cf. II, 104. For the reconstruction of Jewish history, Herodotus, especially books I and II, is very useful. The same is true of the Persian historian Ctesias, a contemporary of Herodotus.

[2] Solinus XXX, 4. Transl. by Harold Holt. Th. Reinach in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, however, refers this to the conquests of the Sassanian king Artaxerxes I.

[3] Syncellus I, 486. Trans. by Mr. Holt. Eusebius, *Chronicorum*, II, 105, places this event in the sixth year of Ochus. This rebellion was instigated by Tachos of Egypt, who about 362 invaded Syria and stirred up the Phoenicians against the Persians. Compare Josephus, *Ant.* XI, 7, 1, and *Judith;* also Diodorus Siculus, XVI, 40–52.

[4] Eus. *Chron.* II, 108 (Sync., p. 256, A).

murdered their governor, for which they were severely punished.

Alexander, having captured Tyre, invaded Judea. Being more favorably received there, he offered sacrifices to God, and accompanied Jaddua, the high-priest, to the temple with great honor. Andromachus being dismissed from his office — him the Samaritans afterwards killed. When Alexander returned from Egypt he punished them severely, and captured their city, and gave it to the Macedonians in the fourth year of his reign.[1]

Whom (Andromachus) the Samaritans had burned alive. To avenge his destruction, he (Alexander) exerted himself with as great speed as possible, and when he arrived the authors of so great a crime were surrendered. Then for Andromachus Memnon was substituted, punishment having been inflicted on those who had killed a governor.[2]

The Attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenize the Jews

After the Macedonian monarchy was established, King Antiochus, having formed a plan to abolish their (the Jews') superstition, and introduce the manners and customs of Greece, was prevented by a war with the Parthians (for Arsaces had then revolted) from reforming this execrable nation. In process of time, when the Macedonians were by degrees enfeebled, when the Parthian state was in its infancy, and the Romans were at a distance, the Jews seized the opportunity to erect a monarchy of their own (cf. 1 *Macc.* 13).[3]

[1] Eus. *Chron.* II, 112 (Sync., p. 261).

[2] Quintus Curtius, IV, 8. Transl. by Mr. Holt.

[3] Tacitus, *History*, V, 8. For the peculiarity of the character of Antiochus Epiphanes, see Polybius, XXVI, 10, in Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, Bd. I, pp. 191–192.

Alexander Balas is Recognized by Rome

Then Herocleides entered the Senate, bringing Laodice and Alexander with him. The youthful Alexander first addressed the Senate, and begged the Romans "to remember their friendship and alliance with his father Antiochus, and if possible to assist him to recover his kingdom; or if they could not do that, at least, to give him leave to return home, and not to hinder those who wished to assist him in recovering his ancestral crown." Heracleides then took up the word and after delivering a lengthy encomium on Antiochus came to the same point, namely, that they ought, in justice, to grant the young prince and Laodice leave to return and claim their own, as they were the true-born children of Antiochus. Sober-minded people were not all attracted by any of these arguments. They understood the meaning of this theatrical exhibition, and made no secret of their distaste for Heracleides. But the majority had fallen under the spell of Heracleides' cunning, and were induced to pass the following decree: "Alexander and Laodice, children of a king, our friend and ally, appeared before the Senate and stated their case; and the Senate gave them authority to return to the kingdom of their forefathers; and help, in accordance with their request, is being decreed to them." Seizing on this pretext, Heracleides immediately began hiring mercenaries and calling on some men of high position to assist him. He accordingly went to Ephesus and devoted himself to the preparations for his attempt.[1]

The Siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes

King Antiochus laid siege to Jerusalem; the Jews resisted until all the best had perished, then they were constrained to send envoys to treat for peace. The greater part of the

[1] Polybius, *Historiae*, XXXIII, 18. Transl. by Mr. Holt.

friends of Antiochus were of the opinion that it would be necessary to seize the city by main force and completely annihilate the Jewish race; for alone of all nations they refused to associate with other peoples and looked upon all as enemies. They represented to him that even the ancestors of the Jews, men impious and hated of the gods, had been chased from the whole of Egypt. Covered with leprosy and disease, they had been collected like accursed beings and thrown without the frontiers in order to purify the country. Then, being banished, they took possession of the territory of Jerusalem, having formed the Jewish race, and having perpetuated among themselves a hatred of mankind. That is why they have instituted quite special laws, e.g., never to sit at table with a stranger, and not to show any kindness toward them.

The friends of the king reminded him also of the former aversion of his ancestors for that race. Indeed, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, after having conquered the Jews, penetrated into the sanctuary of their god — an inaccessible sanctuary where the high-priest alone might enter. He found there a stone statue of a man with a long beard, mounted on an ass, holding a book in his hands. He thought that this statue represented Moses the founder of Jerusalem and organizer of the Jewish people; he who had imposed upon them laws contrary to humanity and justice. Antiochus, exasperated by this hatred against other peoples, set himself the task of abolishing the Jewish institutions. That is why, before the statue of the founder and on the naked altar of their god, he sacrificed an enormous sow, and there sprinkled the blood of the beast; then having prepared the flesh, with the fat which he had gathered together, he gave orders to smear the sacred books which were filled with those rules contrary to hospitality; he caused the lamp to be extinguished, said to be eternal, which burned continually in the temple, and, finally, he forced the high-priest and other Jews to eat the flesh of the victim.

It was by these words that the friends of Antiochus actively urged him completely to annihilate the Jewish people, or, at least, to destroy their institutions and to force them to change their manner of living. But the king, full of magnanimity and forbearance, contented himself with taking some hostages, and acquitted the Jews of the accusations brought against them, after having exacted the tribute which they owed him and having destroyed the walls of Jerusalem.[1]

While Antiochus (Sidetes) was besieging Jerusalem, the Jews requested of him a seven days' truce to celebrate their greatest feast (Tabernacles). Not only did he grant their request, but he also caused bulls with gilded horns, quantities of aromatics and perfumes to be prepared, and escorted a convoy even to the gates of the city. After having delivered this gift to the Jewish priests, he returned to his camp. The Jews full of admiration for his conduct capitulated immediately after the feast.[2]

Pompeius Trogus on the Jews

How Antiochus (Sidetes) after having killed Hyrcanus, conquered the Jews. Digression upon the origin of the Jews.

(Antiochus Sidetes) also conquered the Jews, who under his father Demetrius had regained their liberty by arms. Finally the power of this nation became such that after him it would submit to no other Macedonian king, and that governing itself, it would by continual war lay waste Syria. [Here follows an account of the origin of the Jews, connecting them with Damascus, cf. Nicolas of Damascus].

Xerxes, king of the Persians, was the first who conquered the Jews. They then passed with the Persians themselves under the dominion of Alexander the Great, and for a long time remained subject to the Macedonian empire as subjects

[1] Diodorus, XXXIV, 1.

[2] Plutarch, *Antiochus* (*Moralia*, Didot, I, 221).

of the kingdom of Syria. Having separated themselves from Demetrius, they sought again the friendship of the Romans and obtained from them their liberty — the first of all oriental peoples; Rome then making willing concessions for the benefit of other peoples.[1]

How the Jews and the Arabians [under John Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannaeus, and Aretas of Arabia] infested Syria by land raids; while the Cilicians molested them by sea.[2]

The younger brother of Demetrius (II), Antiochus, pupil of Sida, became master of Syria in the year four of the CLX Olympiad.[3] He reigned nine years and conquered the Jews, after having destroyed the city, whose walls he threw down, and killed the most distinguished citizens in the third year of the CLXII Olympiad.[4]

Alexander Jannaeus, 104–78 B. C.

Judea being thus openly delivered up to tyranny, Alexander the first (Jannaeus) changed his title of high-priest to that of king (cf., however, Josephus, *Ant.*, XIII, 11, 1). He had two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were rivals for the power.[5]

From Pompey to the Jewish War, 66 B. C. – 66 A. D.

64 B. C.

Pompey replied to Antiochus [the Asiatic], who demanded back his kingdom, that he would not return to him that

[1] Pompeius Trogus (after Justinus), *Prologue*, XXXVI; Justinus, XXXVI, 1–3.

[2] Pompeius Trogus, *Prologue*, XXXIX.

[3] 1 A. D. = the first year of the 195th Olympiad. The Olympiad consists of four years, and begins on the first full moon after the summer solstice. The Olympiad age began in 776 B. C. See Schürer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 172–174 on the date of Demetrius II.

[4] Porphyry, *Chronica, Reges Macedonum*, 6, 18.

[5] Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 40.

which he did not know how to defend, for fear that in his hands Syria would not again be delivered from the attacks of the Jews and Arabs.[1]

Aristobulus and Hyrcanus before Pompey, 63 B. C.

During the sojourn of Pompey at Damascus in Syria, Aristobulus king of the Jews and his brother Hyrcanus, who were disputing among themselves about the throne, came to seek him. The most distinguished of the Jews to the number of more than two hundred also betook themselves to the general. They told him that the ancestors of these pretenders were charged with the administration of the temple, having sent an embassy to the Senate, and having obtained supremacy over the free and autonomous Jews; that the nation should not be governed by a king, but be presided over by a high priest; that Aristobulus and Hyrcanus reigned in opposition to the national laws, and that they had unjustly oppressed the citizens; that it was by many mercenaries, by violence, by many and impious murders, that they held the throne.

Pompey deferred his judgment concerning the two rival brothers, but he severely blamed Hyrcanus because of his illegal conduct towards the Jews, and because of his violence against the Romans, adding that he merited a very great and severe punishment, but that by reason of the traditional clemency of the Romans he would pardon him, with the reservation that he would in the future be more submissive.[2]

Fall of Jerusalem, 63 B. C.

(After having appeased Aretas king of the Arabs), Pompey marched against the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine who had ravaged Phoenicia. They had, as leaders, two brothers,

[1] Pompeius Trogus, Justinus, XL, 2.

[2] Diodorus XL, 2 (*Excerpta Vaticana*, p. 128).

Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were competing for the high-priesthood of their god, a title which they always used instead of that of king. Their rivalry sowed sedition among the towns.

Hyrcanus, whose forces were insignificant, immediately submitted to Pompey without resistance. Aristobulus allowed himself to be shut up in a fortress (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XIV, 2, 3) and found himself constrained to sign a capitulation. Then, when in spite of his promises, he delivered up neither the fortress nor its treasures, Pompey put him in irons. After that he (Pompey) easily made himself master of the country, Jerusalem alone sustained a siege and gave him some trouble.

The city proper, where the partisans of Hyrcanus received him with open arms, fell into his hands without resistance; but the temple itself, occupied by the adverse party, was taken with some trouble because it was situated on an elevation and fortified by a special wall.

If the enemy had defended it every day with an equal energy, Pompey would never have been able to take it. But fortunately the defenders permitted the day which they call Saturday to pass without work. The Romans profited by these moments of relaxation to shatter the wall.

Informed indeed of this fanaticism, they passed the rest of the time without much activity, and awaited the periodic return of this holiday to attack the rampart with all their force.

It was thus that the temple was taken on Saturday without any resistance, and all the treasures taken as pillage. The kingdom was given to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus was led into captivity.

Such were the events which were taking place in Palestine.[1]

After having subdued the Arabs of Mount Amanus through Afranius, Pompey himself descended into Syria.

[1] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, XXXVII, 15–16.

As this country had no legitimate kings, he reduced it to a province, and declared it the property of the Roman people. He also conquered Judea, and seized the king, Aristobulus.[1]

But it is said that Cneius Pompey, conqueror of Jerusalem, did not touch anything in the temple [this statement is made by Cicero to sustain his exalted opinion of Pompey].[2]

Cneius Pompey conquered the Jews and took their temple at Jerusalem, till then inviolable.[3]

From there (Antioch) Pompey passed to Judea, seized Jerusalem, the capital of the nation, after a three months' siege. Twelve thousand Jews perished, the rest being received on condition of surrender. At the triumph of Pompey (September, 61 B. C.), among the kings led before his chariot was Aristobulus, king of the Jews.[4]

Pompey suddenly came, deposed both of them, and destroyed their fortifications, commencing with Jerusalem, which he took by force. The place was built on a rock and surrounded by a strong wall, abundantly supplied with water inside, while the environs were absolutely dry. There was a ditch cut in a solid rock, sixty feet deep, and two hundred and fifty wide, and with the stones taken from the excavation the whole exterior wall of the temple was built. Pompey took possession of the place, choosing, it is said, a fast-day for the attack, when the Jews abstained from all work; he profited thereby by filling up the moat and setting up ladders. The city taken, he ordered to destroy all the fortifications; and they tore down, as far as they were able, the retreats of the tyrants and their treasure places. Two of these treasuries, Threx and Taurus, command the entrance of the valley of Jericho; the others were

[1] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 39.

[2] Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, XXVIII, 66.

[3] Livius, *Roman History*, CII.

[4] Eutropius. *Breviarium*, VI, 14 and 16. Claudianus, *Eutropium*, I, 220, also refers to the triumph of Pompey in Judea.

called Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, Machaerous, Lysias, Philadelphia, and that of Scythopolis in Galilee.[1]

Pompey was the first Roman who subdued the Jews, and by right of conquest entered their temple. Thenceforward it became generally known that the habitation was empty, and the sanctuary unoccupied, no representation of the deity being found within it. The walls of the city were leveled to the ground, the temple remained.[2]

The last of the Syrian provinces is Palestine, which extends over a vast territory; abundant in rich and cultivated land. It possesses some remarkable cities, of which none yields to its neighbor, but all of which are rivals and are placed on the same level: Caesarea, built by Herod in honor of the Emperor Octavian; Eleutheropolis; Neapolis; besides Ashkelon and Gaza which were built in most ancient times. In these countries one does not find any navigable rivers, but in many places there gushes forth natural warm water, good for treating many diseases. These countries also were conquered by Pompey, who after having captured the Jews and taken Jerusalem, constituted them a province under the jurisdiction of a governor.[3]

Finally, about noon, (Pompey), conducting his army, carried the Roman standards through the fragrant groves, the forests of frankincense and of balsam.

The Jews attempted to defend themselves; but he penetrated even into that city and discovered the great mystery of this impious race — an ass under a gold vine. Two brothers were disputing for the throne, and took him for arbitrator. He gave the kingdom to Hyrcanus. Aristobulus, who renewed his claims, was put into irons.[4]

[1] Strabo, *Geography*. XVI, 40.
[2] Tacitus, *History*, V, 9.
[3] Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XIV, 8, 11–12.
[4] Florus, *Epitomae*, I, 40, 30.

Celebration of Pompey's Triumph, 61 B. C.

The triumph which Pompey celebrated on the 29th of September under the Consuls M. Pison and M. Messala had the following preamble: "The triumph . . . of Asia, of Pontus . . . of Syria, of the Scythians, of the Jews, of the Albanians." [1]

Gabinius and Aristobulus, 56 B. C.

Gabinius, leaving in Syria his son Sisenna, still quite young, with a handful of soldiers, abandoned to the brigands the province which had been confided to his care, and proceeded in person to Palestine where Aristobulus, escaped from Rome, was stirring up some disorder. He took him prisoner, sent him to Pompey and imposed tribute upon the Jews, after which he invaded Egypt.[2]

When Gabinius the consul was about to return to Syria he pressed him (Mark Antony) to join his expedition. He refused to take the part of a private gentleman, but accepted a position as prefect of the cavalry. He was first sent against Aristobulus who had caused the Jews to revolt. He was the first to go up to the assault of the most important fortress, Alexandrium, and chased the rebels from all their places. Finally, he went to battle, and at the head of a handful of men defeated the enemy, who were much more numerous, killed almost all of them and captured Aristobulus and his son.[3]

Pompey and Caesar, 49–48 B. C.

Caesar having become master of Rome by the flight of Pompey, sent Aristobulus back to Palestine to embarrass Pompey.[4]

[1] Plinius, *Historia naturalis*, VII, 26, § 98.
[2] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, XXXIX, 56, 5–6.
[3] Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, 3.
[4] Dion Cassius, *op. cit.*, XLI, 18.

When the head of Pompey was presented to Julius Caesar, he was not able to endure the sight of it, but ordered to bury it, and commanded to erect around it a sacred wall a short distance from the city (Alexandria), which he called the "sanctuary of Nemesis." During our lifetime, under the Roman Emperor Trajan, who exterminated the Jews of Egypt (116 A. D.), the sanctuary was demolished by the Jews for the purpose of war.[1]

Cassius in Palestine, 43 B. C.

Cassius having taken possession of Syria, hasted towards Judea, on hearing that the troops left by Caesar in Egypt were proceeding to oppose him. These troops as well as the Jews joined the party without resistance.[2]

Pacorus invades Palestine, 41 B. C.

After the death of Saxa, Pacorus attacked Syria and entirely conquered it except Tyre. Then he invaded Palestine, deposed Hyrcanus who governed the country for the Romans, and placed his brother Aristobulus in his stead, to reign in conformity with the customs of the country.[3]

In the civil war which afterward shook the empire, when the eastern provinces fell to the lot of Mark Antony, Pacorus, the Parthian king, made himself master of Judea; but was in a short time after put to death by Ventidius, and his forces retired beyond the Euphrates.[4]

Ventidius and Sosius, and the Death of Antigonus, 39–37 B. C.

P. Ventidius, finding Syria evacuated by the Parthians, took it without battle with the exception of Arados. Next,

[1] Appian of Alexandria, *De bellis civilibus*, II, 90.
[2] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, XLVII, 28, 3.
[3] Dion Cassius, *op. cit.*, XLVIII, 26.
[4] Tacitus, *History*, V, 9.

he occupied Palestine without difficulty, whose king Antigonus he alarmed. After this he collected heavy tribute from all, notably Antigonus, Antiochus, and Malchus the Nabataean, as a punishment for having allied with Pacorus.

C. Sosius (the successor of Ventidius) having received from Antigonus the government of Syria and of Cilicia, reduced the Aradians while beset and tormented by hunger and disease. He conquered in set battle Antigonus, who had massacred the Roman garrison left with him. Being conquered, he fled to Jerusalem where he was forced to capitulate after a siege. During the siege the Jews did much ill to the Romans — for that nation is terrible in its anger — and in consequence they suffered still more. The defenders of the temple wall were taken first, then the rest of the population; this time the day was Saturday. Such was the fervor of their piety that the first Jews, made prisoners in the temple, obtained from Sosius by their supplications, when Saturday had come, permission to enter the sanctuary, and then to give themselves over with their compatriots to their legal rites. Antony entrusted the governor of the Jews to a certain Herod. As to Antigonus, he had him tied to a stake and beat him with rods — such treatment as no other king had ever received from the Romans — then put him to death.[1]

Antony dispatched Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra to him to Syria. She having arrived he overwhelmed her with favors and gave her no insignificant gift — Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, Cyprus, a large part of Cilicia, of Judea, the district of the Nabataean Arabs, which produces the balsam, all the part bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Nothing irritated the Romans so much as these presents. At the same time, also, he distributed tetrarchies to a number of private gentlemen, and took away from others their

[1] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, XLVIII, 41; XLIX, 22, 3–6. Compare Tacitus, *History*, V, 9.

kingdoms. Among these latter was Antigonus the Jew, whom he had publicly decapitated, the first king to receive such a punishment.[1]

The Jews also were subdued by the lieutenants of Antony (Herod and Sosius).[2]

Herod joins Caesar, 31 B. C.

The royal subjects who fought in the army of Antony were Bocchus, Tarcondemus, Archelaus, etc. These were present in person; others sent troops, such as, Polemon of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, and Herod the Jew.

Canidius came himself to announce to Antony the destruction of the army at Actium, and at the same time he learned that the Jew Herod with some legions and cohorts had gone to Caesar's camp.

Alexas of Laodicea was sent after Herod by Antony in order to prevent his defection, but he betrayed the confidence of his master and remained with Herod. Then relying upon the latter, he had the audacity to present himself to Caesar. But Herod's protection did not serve him. He was arrested and led in irons into his own country, where by the order of Caesar he was put to death.[3]

20 B. C.

Augustus gave to Herod the Tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus.[4]

The Slaughter of the Innocents, 6 B. C.

Having heard that among the children under two years of age, whom Herod king of the Jews in Syria had put to

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, 36.
[2] Livius, *Periocha*, CXXVIII.
[3] Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, 36.
[4] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, LIV, 9, 3.

death, was also his own son, Augustus said: "I would rather be the pig of Herod than his son." [1]

Herod's Sons, 4 B. C.

Shortly after these events, King Herod in turn died. The nation revolted against his children and against the Greeks. The insurgents were more than ten thousand. A battle was fought and the Greeks were victorious. Then Archelaus, the heir to the throne, finally left for Rome to reclaim the entire estate of his father, and invited to accompany him Nicolas, who was already disposed to come back to his country for he was sixty years old.

Nicolas then started on his voyage. He found Rome full of accusers of Archelaus. On the one hand his youngest brother disputed the throne with him, while on the other hand all his relations pursued him with their accusations, without, however, making common cause with his brother. The Greek cities which were under the dominion of Herod had sent ambassadors to reclaim their liberty from Caesar. Finally, the entire Jewish nation reproached him for the death of three thousand men who fell in battle, and demanded either to be placed under the direct rule of Caesar, or otherwise under that of his young brother.

Face to face with all these proceedings, Nicolas commenced by pleading for, and gaining the cause of, Archelaus against his relatives, then against his Jewish subjects. Then, as to the proceedings against the Greek cities, he would not undertake that, even counseled Archelaus not to oppose their request for liberty — the rest of the kingdom being quite sufficient for him. Similarly he would not argue against the brother of Archelaus, remembering the friendship which he had had with their common father.

Caesar did away with all differences by giving to each son a portion of the paternal inheritance, but to Archelaus,

[1] Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, II, 4, 11.

a half. He heaped honors upon Nicolas and named Archelaus Ethnarch, while promising him very soon to become king if he showed himself worthy of it. As to the younger brothers, they were obliged to be satisfied with the title of "Tetrarch.[1]

On the death of Herod, a man named Simon, without waiting for the authority of the emperor, seized the sovereignty. He, however, was punished for his ambition by Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the nation, reduced to submission, was divided into three portions between the sons of Herod.[2]

Archelaus Exiled, 6 A. D.

Herod (Archelaus) of Palestine, having been accused by his brothers, was exiled beyond the Alps, and his part of the paternal inheritance was annexed to the Empire.[3]

Overtaxation of the Jews, 15–26 A. D.

The provinces also of Syria and Judea, oppressed with impositions, prayed for an abatement of tribute.[4]

During the reign of Tiberius (14–37) things remained in a state of tranquility. Afterward being ordered by Caligula (37–41) to place his statue in the temple, the Jews, rather than submit, had recourse to arms. This commotion the death of Caligula extinguished.[5]

Herod the Brother of Agrippa Becomes King of Chalcis, 41 A. D.

(In the reign of Claudius) as the Jews again increased in Rome, and as it had been difficult to exclude them from the

[1] C. Müller, *Frag. hist. graec.*, III, 346–461 (Nicolas of Damascus).

[2] Tacitus, *History*, V, 9.

[3] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, LV, 27, 6.

[4] Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 42 (In the time of Valerius Gratus, 15–26 A. D.).

[5] Tacitus, *History*, V, 9.

city without provoking trouble from the multitude, he did not drive them forth, but permitted them to assemble according to their national customs.

Agrippa the Palestinean, who had aided him in obtaining the empire — for he was then at Rome — obtained for him an increase of territory and consular honors. His brother Herod received the rank of Praetor and a certain principality (that of Chalcis, Josephus, *Ant.*, XIX, 5, 1; *Wars*, II, 11, 5). Both were permitted to enter the Senate and to thank the emperor in the Greek language.[1]

Judea Incorporated into Syria, 49 A. D.

Iturea and Judea, at the death of their kings Sohemus and Agrippa (the Younger), were incorporated into the province of Syria.[2]

Jews Expelled from Rome, 52 A. D.

He (Claudius) chased the Jews from Rome, who, at the instigation of Chrestus, continually excited troubles.[3]

Felix, 52–59 (?) A. D.

Among those released the one whom he (Claudius) loved most was Felix, to whom he gave cohorts, squadrons, and the government of Judea, and who was the husband of three queens.[4]

The Jewish kings being either dead or their dominion reduced to narrow limits, Claudius committed the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to his freedmen. One of these, Antonius Felix, exercised the prerogatives of a king

[1] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, LX, 6, and 8.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, XII, 23. For a discussion of the date, see Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, Nos. 1727, 1720, and 1533.

[3] Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 25.

[4] Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 28.

with the spirit of a slave, rioting in cruelty and licentiousness. He married Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, that he might be grandson-in-law of Mark Antony, who was grandfather of Claudius.[1]

His (Pallas) brother, surnamed Felix, for some time governor of Judea, acted not with the same moderation, but relying upon such powerful protection, supposed he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villainy. It must be admitted that the Jews had exhibited some evidence of insurrection in the disturbance which broke out, since, after they were apprised of his assassination, they scarcely returned to obedience. Their fears remained lest some of the succeeding emperors might lay the same injunctions upon them. Felix too, meanwhile, by applying unreasonable remedies, inflamed the disaffection, emulated, as he was, in his abandoned courses, by Ventidius Cumanus, who held part of the province; the division being such that Galilee was subject to Cumanus, and Samaria to Felix — nations long at variance, and now, from contempt of their rulers, less than ever restraining their reciprocal hate. Accordingly, mutual depredations were committed, bands of robbers employed, ambuscades formed, and sometimes battles fought, and the spoils and booty obtained were given to their governors, who, at first, rejoiced over it. But when the mischief increased, they interposed their troops, and their men were slain; and, but for the aid of Quadratus, ruler of Syria, the whole province would have been in a blaze of war. Nor, in the proceedings against the Jews, who had carried their violence so far as to kill our soldiers, was there any hesitation about punishing them capitally. But Cumanus and Felix created some delay; for Claudius, upon hearing the causes of the revolt, had also granted power to try and sentence the governors. But Quadratus, taking Felix upon the tribunal, exhibited him among the judges,

[1] Tacitus, *History*, V, 9.

to awe the zeal of his accusers, so that Cumanus alone was doomed to punishment, for the crimes which two had committed. Thus the tranquillity of the province was restored.[1]

Gessius Florus, 64–66 A. D.

The patience, however, of the Jews held out till the time of Gessius Florus, the procurator. Under him a war broke out. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, endeavored to crush the revolt. He fought some obstinate battles, most of them unsuccessfully.[2]

From the Jewish War to Hadrian, 66–135 A. D

Nero Appoints Vespasian to take Command in Judea, 66 A. D.

The war against the Jews had been committed by Nero to Flavius Vespasian, at the head of three legions.[3]

After his (Cestius Gallus) death, which happened either by design or from disappointment and vexation, Vespasian, who was sent by Nero, succeeded to the command. By his character, by the good fortune that attended his arms, and with the advantage of excellent officers, in two summer campaigns (67 and 68 A. D.) he overran the whole country, and made himself master of all the cities except Jerusalem. The following year, which was devoted to civil war, passed tranquilly as far as the Jews were concerned.[4]

He (Vespasian) had entertained no design, nor wish, against the interest of Galba. He sent his son Titus to Rome (68 A. D.), as will be seen hereafter, with congratulations to Galba, and assurances of fidelity.[5]

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, XII, 54.
[2] Tacitus, *History*, V, 10.
[3] Tacitus, *History*, I, 10. Cf. Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4.
[4] Tacitus, *History*, V, 10.
[5] Tacitus, *History*, I, 10.

69 A. D.

While Galba still possessed the sovereign power, Titus Vespasian, by order of his father, set out from Judea, for the purpose, as he stated, of paying respect to the emperor. . . . In the city of Corinth in Achaia, Titus received the news of the death of Galba, and assurances from persons who had come there that Vitellius was in motion at the head of an army. . . . He set sail from Corinth, and after steering along the coast of Achaia and Asia, which lay to the left, he directed his course toward Rhodes and Cyprus. From those islands he went across the open sea to the coast of Syria.[1]

Vespasian, occupied in making war upon the Jews, at the news of the insurrection of Vitellius and Otho, deliberated as to what he should do . . . he finally decided to send Mucianus to Italy against Vitellius, while he himself, after having cast a glance over the affairs of Syria and having confided to other commanders the continuation of the war against the Jews, proceeded to Egypt.

Omens and dreams had for some time promised the empire to Vespasian . . . thus it was that a Jew named Josephus, whom he had formerly led away in irons, cried laughingly: "You have me in chains now but in a year from this time you, having become emperor, will liberate me." [2]

When intelligence was brought by his chosen men from Syria and Judea that the East had sworn allegiance to him (Vespasian), it would hardly be believed if I were to relate how much the insolence and heartlessness of Vitellius increased. . . . Meanwhile Vespasian was considering the war, and revolving the means of conducting it. . . . His troops were so devoted to his interest, that, when he set them the example of swearing fidelity to Vitellius, and prayed

[1] Tacitus, *History*, II, 1–2.

[2] Dion Cassius, *Epitome of Xiphilin*, LXV–LXVI.

for the entire prosperity of his reign, the soldiers heard him in profound silence. [Here follows the address of Mucianus urging Vespasian to proclaim his intention of becoming emperor. The whole army wished to see Vespasian emperor, and "recounted responses of seers and motions of the stars" pointing to his emperorship]. Mucianus and Vespasian, with minds thoroughly made up, parted, and went, the former to Antioch, the capital of Syria, the latter to Caesarea, the capital of Judea. The first public step towards creating Vespasian emperor of Rome was taken at Alexandria in Egypt. [The oath was then taken in Judea and Syria by the whole army]. Before the ides of July (69 A. D.), the whole province of Syria had taken the same oath. . . . Soon after, Agrippa, receiving private expresses from the East, summoning him from Rome, departed before Vitellius had any intelligence, and by quick navigation passed over into Asia.[1]

It was an ancient and well established belief, known in all the Orient, that it was written in the book of destiny that the empire of the world would fall about this time to a man from Judea. This oracle which appertained to a Roman emperor, as the event soon proved, the Jews applied to themselves. They revolted, and after having killed their governor (Gessius Florus; see Josephus, *Wars*, II, 20, 1) they put to flight the consular legate of Syria (Cestius Gallus) who came to his aid and brought an eagle to him. To crush this movement a considerable army was necessary and an active leader, to whom one might entrust without fear an enterprise of this importance. Vespasian was chosen from among all because he joined to tried talents an obscurity of race and name which left nothing to fear. Having then reinforced his army by two legions, eight wings, and ten cohorts, and having taken with him, among his lieutenants, his oldest son, Vespasian, since his arrival in his province,

[1] Tacitus, *History*, II, 73–81.

knew how to gain the esteem of the neighboring countries by establishing military discipline and by combating with much ardor everywhere, till at the siege of a small fort he was wounded in the knee with a stone, and received many arrows in his shield.

When near Judea he consulted the oracle of the god of Carmel. The fates responded to him that some great design which he meditated and revolved in his mind would be sure to come to pass. And one of the prisoners, the most distinguished, Josephus, ceased not to affirm while they were putting him in irons that he would soon be delivered by the same Vespasian after he had become emperor.

Loaded with many exploits and with glory, Vespasian returned to Rome, celebrated his triumph over the Jews and added eight new consulates to those which he had already made.[1]

In the eighth month of the reign (of Vitellius) (Nov.–Dec., 69), the armies of Moesia, Pannonia, Syria, and Judea revolted from him.[2]

70 A. D.

Titus, swelling with vast anticipations, proceeded on his voyage, and joined his father, while the armies and provinces of the East were undecided, and contributed immensely to turn the scale. Vespasian had almost brought the Jewish war to a conclusion. Nothing remained but the siege of Jerusalem; an arduous enterprise, not so much on account of the resources of the enemy to endure the difficulties of a siege, as by reason of the hill, and their stubborn superstition. Vespasian, as already mentioned, had three legions under his command, all inured to the service.[3]

In the beginning of the same year, Titus, who was appointed by his father to complete the subjugation of Judea,

[1] Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*, 28.
[2] Suetonius, *Divus Vitellius*, 15.
[3] Tacitus, *History*, II, 4.

and who, when both were no higher than subjects, had gained a reputation for military talents, now exercised a more extended influence, and shone with augmented lustre, the provinces and armies emulating each other in their zeal and attachment to him. Titus, on his part, that he might be thought deserving of still higher distinctions appeared in all the splendor of external embellishments, and showed himself a prompt and resolute soldier. . . . He succeeded to the command of three legions in Judea, the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth, who had long served under Vespasian. To these he added the twelfth from Syria, and the third and twenty-second from Alexandria. He was attended, besides, by twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse, with the two kings Agrippa and Sohemus, and auxiliaries from Antiochus. He had also a band of Arabs, formidable in themselves, and harboring toward the Jews the bitter animosity usually subsistent between neighboring nations. . . . with this force Titus, advancing into the enemy's country in order of battle, diligently exploring by his scouts the motions of the enemy, and prepared for action, formed a camp a short distance from Jerusalem.[1]

The Jews formed in order of battle under the very walls, determined, if successful, to push forward, while prepared for retreat if obliged to give ground. The cavalry, with the light-armed cohorts, sent against them, fought with doubtful success. Soon the enemy gave way, and on the following days engaged in frequent skirmishes before the gates, till at length, after a series of losses, they were forced to retire within the walls. The Romans resolved now to carry the place by storm. To linger before it till famine compelled a surrender, appeared indeed unworthy of them, and the soldiers demanded the post of danger, some from courage, many from ferocity and the hope of gaining rewards. . . . But Jerusalem, standing upon an eminence, naturally

[1] Tacitus, *History*, V, 1.

difficult of approach, was rendered still more impregnable by redoubts and bulwarks by which even places on a level plain would have been competently fortified. Two hills that rose to a prodigious height were inclosed by walls constructed so as in some places to project in angles, in others to curve inward. In consequence, the flanks of the besiegers were exposed to the enemy's weapons. The extremities of the rock were abrupt and craggy; and the towers were built upon the mountain sixty feet high, in the low ground a hundred and twenty feet. These works presented a spectacle altogether astonishing. To the distant eye they seemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city there were other fortifications inclosing the palace of the kings, and the tower of Antonia, with its conspicuous pinnacles — so called by Herod, in honor of Mark Antony.

The temple itself was in the nature of a citadel, inclosed in walls of its own, and more elaborate and massy than the rest. The very porticos that surrounded it were a capital defense. A perennial spring supplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were dug out in the mountains, and there were basins and tanks as reservoirs of rain-water. . . . They had three armies, and as many generals. The outward walls, which were of the widest extent, were defended by Simon; John, otherwise called Bargioras [an error, for John was son of Levi], guarded the middle precinct; and Eleazar guarded the temple. The two former were strong in number of men, the latter in situation. But battles, plots, and burnings occurred among themselves, and a large quantity of grain was consumed by fire. After a short time, John, sending a band of assassins, under color of performing a sacrifice, to cut off Eleazar and his party, gained possession of the temple. From that time the citizens separated into two factions; and in this state they continued till, the Romans approaching, an enemy without produced unity within. [Here follows an account of the prodigies which occurred, for which compare Josephus, *Wars*,

VI, 5]. We learn that the number of the besieged of every age, male and female, was six hundred thousand (cf. Josephus, *Wars*, VI, 9). All who were capable bore arms, and more than could be expected out of that number had the fortitude to do so. The devotion of the women was equal to that of the men; and if they must needs move their seat, and quit the habitation of their fathers, they dreaded to live more than to die. Such was the city, such the nation, against which Titus Caesar determined to act by means of mounds and mantelets, since the nature of the locality was adverse to assault and sudden attacks. The legions had each of their several duties assigned to them, and there was a cessation of fighting until all the engines and appliances for reducing cities invented by ancient or modern genius, were prepared.[1]

Titus, charged with the war against the Jews, tried at first to bring them to terms with words and promises. Not being able to persuade them, he resumed operations. After some indecisive battles he defeated them and began the siege of Jerusalem.

The city had three walls including that of the temple. The Romans built up embankments of earth against the walls and pushed forward the machines. They hindered the escape of the besieged, and with shots from slings and arrows kept back the defenders who mounted upon the rampart. They had indeed many bowmen, and notable auxiliaries sent by barbarian kings. The Jews also had drawn many troops from all the countries inhabited by their co-religionists as well as their own country, and not only from the Roman empire but also from countries on the other side of the Euphrates. These also did not cease to hurl arrows and stones, either by hand or with the aid of machines, and with all the more effect as they shot from above. Occasionally they made sorties, either by day or by night, burned

[1] Tacitus, *History*, V, 11–13.

the machines, killed many soldiers, excavated the earth in such a way as to undermine the breast-work of attack, carried off the battering rams with ropes, or tore them away with harpoons; at other times they weakened the shock with thick timbers collected and joined with irons, which they put down before the walls.

But that which caused the most suffering among the Romans was the lack of water. It was necessary to bring the water from a distance and it was bad. Moreover the Jews prolonged their resistance, thanks to the tunnels which they had excavated beneath the walls, extending from the city quite a distance out into the country. They made their sorties through these, fell upon the parties who went to get water and massacred them. Titus was obliged to close up all these tunnels. During this work there were many wounded and killed on both sides. Titus himself received a blow with a stone on his left shoulder, and in protecting it his hand also was hurt. (See, however, Josephus, *Wars*, V, 6, 2).

Finally, the Romans scaled the exterior wall, established their camp between the two, and commenced their attack on the interior wall. Here again the war was unequal, for all the Jews sheltered themselves behind this wall, defending themselves the more easily as they were the more confined.

Titus made a second proclamation offering them pardon, but the enemy was all the more obstinate. The Jews, prisoners or deserters, secretly poisoned the water of the Romans, and massacred the soldiers whom they met alone; and Titus decided not to receive any more of them.

In the midst of all this some Romans, discouraged by the long siege and persuaded, as it is said, that the city was really impregnable, deserted. The Jews, although almost at the end of provisions, nevertheless welcomed them in order to show that they also received deserters.

Even when the machines had made a gap in the wall,

the defenders would not surrender, but again killed a large number of soldiers who mounted to the assault. They also set on fire some neighboring houses in order to hinder the Roman advance, although masters of the wall. By such means they injured the wall, and set fire to the wall of the sacred enclosure. From that time the road to the temple was open to the Romans. Nevertheless these, being held back by a superstitious fear, did not at once betake themselves there; they only penetrated very slowly, being forced by Titus.

The Jews resisted with more zeal than ever. It was for them a happiness to fall near the temple and for its defence. The people were ranged in the vestibule, the officers on the steps, the priests in the sanctuary itself. Even though they were few in number and opposed to a large army, they did not yield until a part of the temple was on fire. Then some, of their own accord, threw themselves upon the swords of the Romans, others cut each other's throats, killed themselves, or leaped into the flames. All believed, especially the latter, that it was not a disaster, but a victory, salvation, happiness, to perish with the temple. Some prisoners, however, were taken, among others their chief Bargioras, the only one who was put to death after the triumph.

Thus perished Jerusalem, even on Saturday, which the Jews still celebrate more than any other day. Henceforth a tax of a didrachm, to be paid annually to Jupiter Capitoline, was placed upon all those who continued to observe their national customs. On the occasion of these events Vespasian and Titus both assumed the title of *Imperator* but neither of the two wished that of *Judaicus*. However, they were voted all honors customary after such a victory, especially triumphal arches.[1]

The Jews, pressed by the siege, without hope of peace or of

[1] Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, LXVI, 4–6.

capitulation, were finally overcome by famine. The streets were filled with corpses, as burial was neglected. After having attempted all the abominations in the way of food, they did not even abstain from human flesh, not even avoiding those corpses which disease had rendered unfit for food.

It is said that Titus, having assembled his advisers, discussed the question of destroying the temple — a monument of very great workmanship. Many thought it was not necessary to dismantle a sacred edifice, illustrious among all mortal works. In sparing it there would be seen a testimony of Roman moderation; in destroying it the Roman name would be marred by an eternal stain of cruelty. Others on the contrary, and among them Titus, actually insisted upon the destruction of the temple, in order more completely to abolish the religion of the Jews and of the Christians.[1]

Placed after his quaestor at the head of a legion, he became master of Taricheas (on the sea of Tiberias), and of Gamala, strongly fortified places of Judea. In one battle his horse was killed under him, and he leaped on that of a soldier who had just fallen dead at his side in the fight.

Left in Judea to achieve its submission, at the end of the siege of Jerusalem, he killed with twelve arrows twelve defenders of the city of which he became master on the anniversary of the birth of his daughter. The joy and affection of the soldiers were so intense that in their acclamations they saluted him with the name of "Emperor." [2]

At the time when Titus had taken Jerusalem, and all was full of corpses, and the neighboring nations were bringing him crowns, Titus declared himself unworthy of such honors, for this exploit was not his work. He had done nothing but lend his arm to the manifest anger of the deity. Apollonius praised this modesty, and wrote him thus: "Apollonius to Titus, Roman General, greetings: since

[1] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, II, 30.
[2] Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, 4–5.

you are not willing that one proclaim your glory for the exploits of war, and the blood of the enemy which you have spilled, I bestow upon you the crown of modesty, for I see that you know what deeds merit that crown. Adieu." Titus, much pleased with this letter, replied: "I thank you in my name and in the name of my father, and I shall remember your words. I have conquered Jerusalem, you have conquered me." [1]

Under the prince (Vespasian) the Jews were incorporated into the Roman empire along with Jerusalem the most illustrious city of Palestine.[2]

Domitian, mounted on a white horse, accompanied the triumph over the Jews which his father and his brother celebrated.[3]

In the Reign of Domitian

The same year (95 A. D.) Domitian put to death many persons — among others the consul Flavius Clemens although he was his cousin — and had married one of his relatives Flavia Domitilla. The two were accused of atheism (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, III, 18, 4–5), an accusation which also condemned many others, convicted of allowing themselves to be converted to Jewish customs. Some were put to death, others were punished by confiscation. As to Domitilla, she was only exiled to Pandataria.[4]

Appian said at the end of his book XXIV: "During the war of Egypt, as I fled before the Jews, and crossed Petra in order to gain a canal (an inlet of the Nile), where a barge was waiting to take me to Pelusium, I travelled by night, having for guide an Arab." (The travellers lost their way and found themselves all at once on the shore of another canal or arm of the Nile). "While I was in this predica-

[1] Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, VI, 29.
[2] Eutropius, *Breviarium*, VII, 19.
[3] Suetonius, *Domitianus*, 2.
[4] Dion Cassius, *Epitome*, LXVII, 14.

ment I suddenly found myself on the shore of another canal, the one nearest to Pelusium, and I perceived a trireme getting ready for this city. I got up there and was saved, while the skiff that awaited me at the other inlet fell into the hands of the Jews." [1]

Nerva, 96–98 A. D.

Nerva dismissed people accused of impiety and recalled the exiles. He no longer permitted anyone to suffer accusations of impiety, or of Judaism as a crime.[2]

In the Reign of Trajan

During that time (115 A. D., cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 2), the Jews of Cyrene, having chosen as their leader a certain Andreas [Eusebius says *Loukouas*], massacred the Romans and Greeks. They ate the flesh of their victims, making girdles of their entrails, dyeing themselves with their blood, and dressing themselves with their skins. They often also sawed the corpses in two; they either cast others to wild animals, or forced them to give themselves up to fight with gladiators. They thus destroyed in all 220,000 individuals. They began the same atrocities in Egypt, and at Cyprus under the leadership of a certain Artemion. There 240,000 men perished (Eusebius, *Chron.*, II, 164). For this reason no Jew is permitted to approach this island; but if he is tempted to do so he is put to death. The Jews were conquered by different generals, notably by Lucius (Quietus, see *Mischna Sota*, IX, 14), who was sent by Trajan.[3]

Hadrian, 117–138 A. D.

At his accession he (Hadrian) set about to establish peace in the world. The nations conquered by Trajan had re-

[1] Appian of Alexandria, *Arabicus Liber* (Müller, *Frag. hist. graec.*, V.).

[2] Dion Cassius, *Epitome*, LXVIII, 1, 2.

[3] Dion Cassius, *Epitome*, LXVIII, 32.

volted, Egypt was torn by seditions, Libya and Palestine gave vent to their spirit of rebellion.[1]

Finally Hadrian went to Egypt (130 A. D.), passing Judea on the way, offered libations to Pompey and restored his tomb, which had been destroyed (during the insurrection under Trajan).

When Hadrian founded at Jerusalem a new city in the place of the one which had been destroyed, giving it the name of Aelia Capitolina, and put upon the site of the temple of the god another temple dedicated to Jupiter, it resulted in an important and prolonged war. The Jews, although indignant to see men of another race establish themselves in their city, and strange religions established, remained tranquil during the sojourn of Hadrian in Egypt and his return to Syria. They contented themselves with purposely making bad armor when they were ordered to make armor. Finally it was refused, and they were able to use it themselves. Hadrian once at a distance, they openly revolted.

They did not dare to fight the Romans in fixed battle, but they took possession of the best positions in the country and fortified them with tunnels and walls, in order if necessary to take refuge there and to insure secret communications under ground. They made openings above these subterranean roads to allow the light and air to come in.

At first the Romans paid no attention to these intrigues; but when all Judea was in commotion, and when it was seen that the Jews from all parts of the world were uneasy, congregating, and making much trouble for the Romans both openly and in secret; that many from other nations, drawn by the hope of gain, made common cause with them; that the whole earth, so to speak, was on fire; then Hadrian sent against them his best generals, having for leader Julius

[1] Spartianus, *Hadrianus*, 5.

Severus, whom he called from the government of Brittany to take charge of the war against the Jews.

He did not even dare to attack them openly on account of their number and their desperate resistance; he took them separately, thanks to the number of his soldiers and lieutenants, cut short their provisions, surrounded them, and was able thus slowly but surely to exhaust their strength, use them up and exterminate them. Only a very small number escaped.

Fifty of their best fortresses, 985 of their small towns, the most important of which were destroyed; 580,000 men perished in the sorties and combats. And as for those who died from hunger, sickness, and fire, the number is incalculable. All of Judea, however little it was, became a desert, as was predicted before the war; for the tomb of Solomon which they greatly venerated was even crumbling to pieces. Wolves and hyenas in large numbers entered howling into their cities.

However, the Romans themselves lost a great many in this war. Also Hadrian, writing to the Senate, did not make use of the usual preface of the emperors: "If you and your children are well so much the better, as for me and my troops we are well." Thus ended the war of Judea.[1]

At that time (when Hadrian was in Asia, 132 A. D.) the Jews also took up arms because they were not allowed to practice circumcision.[2]

In the reign of Hadrian many soldiers were killed by the Jews and many by the Britons.[3]

It was thus that the Romans took possession, without opposition, of Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and all the other countries of Syria, whatever their names, from the Euphrates even to Egypt and the sea. One nation alone

[1] Dion Cassius, *Epitome*, LXIX, 11–15.
[2] Spartianus, *Hadrianus*, 14.
[3] Cornelius Fronto, *De bello Parthico*.

still resisted, that of the Jews. Pompey conquered them by force, sent their king Aristobulus to Rome and destroyed Jerusalem, their largest and holiest city. This city had already been destroyed by Ptolemy (Lagos), the first king of Egypt. Reconstructed, it was again destroyed by Vespasian, and finally in my time by Hadrian. That is the reason the Jews all pay a much larger capitation than the other subjects of the empire. The Syrians and the Cilicians pay equally an annual tax, equal to a hundredth part of their capital wealth.[1]

[1] Appian of Alexandria, *Syriacus Liber*, 50.

MILES
0 5 25
GREEK AND LATIN SECTION
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
(THE GREAT SEA)
PHILISTIA
PHOENICIA
GALILEE
SAMARIA
JUDEA
IDUMEA
PERAEA
DECAPOLIS
ITUREA
TRACHONITIS
ABILENE
Beyrut
Sidon
Zarephath
Sarepta
Tyre
Coele Syria
Leontes
PANIAS
Panias
Caesarea-Philippi
Damascus
Saropta
Kadesh
Gischala
Ramah
Acco
Ptolemais
Bethsaida Julias
Capernaum
Magdala
Sea of Galilee
Tiberias
Kishon
Sepphoris
Jarmuk R.
Gadara
Abila
Dora
Caesarea
Straton's Tower
Megiddo
Jezreel
DECAPOLIS
Taanach
Bethsean
Scythopolis
Belhulia
Pella
Geba
Samaria
Jordan River
Apollonia
Amathus
Jabbok
Shechem
Joppa
Antipatris
Archelais
Gilead
Alexandrium
Thamnatha
Shiloh
Lydda
Gilgal
Phasaelis
Modein
Bethel
Ephraim
Gezer
Gazera
Bethhoron
Jericho
Philadelphia
Jamnia
Ekron
Ajalon
Anathoth
Emmaus
Mizpah
Nob
Jerusalem
Heshbon
Ashdod (Azotus)
Bethany
Ashkalon
Gath?
Bethlehem
Medeba
Antheadon
Eleutheropolis
Bethzacharias
Herodium
Gaza
Agrippeum
Adullam
Tekoa
Machaerus
Mareshah
Bethsur
Halhul
Hebron
Dibon
Raphia
Masada
DEAD SEA
Beersheba
Malatha
NABATEA

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Tabular View of Hebrew and Jewish History in the Light of Oriental History

I

From the Earliest Times to the Exodus

2900[1] *Snefru* of the third Egyptian dynasty sent a fleet to Lebanon. This is the earliest known sea-voyage, and the first expedition into Syria known to history.

2800 *Lugal-zag-gi-si*, king of Umma, extended his sway as far as the Mediterranean.

2740 *Sahure* of the fifth Egyptian dynasty made a successful naval expedition to Phoenicia.

2650 *Sargon*, king of Akkad, and his son *Naram-Sin* extended their empire as far as the Mediterranean.

2580 *Pepi I* of the sixth Egyptian dynasty made the earliest expedition into Palestine known to history.

2560 *Pepi II*. Commerce was carried on with Lebanon.

2000 *Khammurabi*, sixth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, was a contemporary of *Abraham*. Palestine was greatly under the influence of Babylonia.

1980 Tale of *Sinuhe* an exile in Palestine.

[1] Many of the dates, especially the earlier ones, are approximate.

1890 *Ammi-ditana*, ninth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, claimed suzerainty over the Amurru.

1860 Expedition of *Sesostris III* of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty into Palestine.

Monuments of Egyptian officials found in *Gezer*.

1815 Entrance of the *Hittites* into the Tigris-Euphrates district.

1750 Advent of *Kassites* into Babylonia.

1675 *Hyksos* conquer Egypt.

1650 *Jacob* and his family went to Egypt.

1600 *Shamshi-Adad III* set up a stela in Lebanon.

1575 Expulsion of Hyksos by *Ahmose I* of the eighteenth dynasty.

1530 *Thutmose I* conquered Syria and extended his power to the Euphrates.

1500 *Assyria* begins to free itself from Babylonia.

1479 *Thutmose III* made seventeen campaigns into Asia (1479–1459). He extended his empire as far as the Euphrates.

1400 The *Tell-el-Amarna Letters* tell of the invasion of Canaan by the Khabiri (*Hebrews*), in the reign of *Amenhotep III*.

1375 Amenhotep IV (*Ikhnaton*) neglects his Asiatic dominions, and the *Hittites* seize Syria. *Amorite* kingdom established on the Orontes.

1300 *Shalmaneser I* of Assyria freed himself from Babylonian control and claimed supremacy in Western Asia.

1295 *Seti I* of the nineteenth dynasty recovered Palestine.

1288 *Rameses II* at war with the Hittites. Lasted till 1271.

Hebrew oppression in Egypt.

1225 *Merneptah*, "*Pharaoh of the Exodus.*" In his *third* year he made a campaign into Asia. "*Israel*" mentioned among the conquered.

II

From the Exodus to the Babylonian Captivity

1190 *Philistines* enter Canaan.

1185 *Hebrews* enter Canaan. The weak Ramessids lost Palestine to Egypt, and in the reign of Rameses IX, the report of Wenamon shows the independence of Syria and Palestine. The Hebrews now established their *kingdom* — Assyria and Egypt being busy at home.

1100 *Tiglath-Pileser* extended his influence as far as the Mediterranean. Received tribute from Egypt.

937 Division of the Hebrew Kingdom at death of *Solomon.*

926 *Sheshonk I* of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty captured Jerusalem.

924 Rise of *Damascus.* Development of Syria and Palestine.

880 General *Assyrian supremacy* in Syria and Palestine under Assur-nazir-pal II.

854 *Shalmaneser III* was victorious over the West at the battle of *Karkar* at which Egypt was probably represented. *Mesha* was now king of Moab.

842 *Jehu* paid tribute to Shalmaneser III, at the beginning of his reign.

763 On the 15th of June, 763, an *eclipse of the sun* took place, which is probably referred to in Amos 8: 9.

738 *Menahem* paid tribute to *Tiglath-Pileser IV*.

734 *Tiglath-Pileser IV* defeated the *Philistines*.

732 *Tiglath-Pileser IV* took Damascus.

728 *Tiglath-Pileser IV* became king of Babylonia.

722 *Sargon II*, king of Assyria, captured Samaria.

721 *Merodach-Baladan* became king of Babylonia.

715 Egypt paid tribute to *Sargon II*.

710 *Shabaka* of the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty incites Syria and Palestine to revolt against Sargon.

701 *Sennacherib* of Assyria appears in the West, defeated the Egyptians under *Taharka*, and besieged Jerusalem under *Hezekiah*.

680 *Manasseh* and many other western princes pay tribute to *Esarhaddon* of Assyria.

670 *Esarhaddon* conquered the Delta and made it an Assyrian province.

661 *Ashurbanipal* took Thebes. In 647 he became king of Babylon.

609 *Necho* of the twenty-sixth dynasty defeated the Philistines.

608 *Necho* defeats Josiah at *Megiddo*. Judah then became a vassal state of Egypt.

606 *Nineveh*, the capital of Assyria, taken by the Babylonians.

605 *Nebuchadrezzar* met *Necho* at Carchemish and defeated him. Palestine and Syria become Babylonian dependencies.

597 *Nebuchadrezzar* took *Jehoiachin* into captivity. Many Jews deported to Babylonia. *Zedekiah* placed on the Judean throne.

586 *Jerusalem* was destroyed. *Apries* (Hophra) tried to aid Jerusalem but failed.

III

From the Babylonian Captivity to the Uprising of Bar-Cochba

561 *Amel-Marduk* (Evil-Merodach) liberated Jehoiachin.

550 *Cyrus* the Persian defeated the Medes under *Astyages*. Medo-Persian empire founded by Cyrus.

538 *Cyrus* captured *Babylon*. He liberated the Jews.

525 *Cambyses* the Persian conquered Egypt. Egypt became a province of the Persian empire.

520 *Temple* in Jerusalem begun under Zerubbabel.

516 Temple finished.

490 Persians defeated by the Greeks at *Marathon*.

480 Xerxes defeated by the Greeks at *Salamis*.

458 Return of Jews under *Ezra*, in reign of *Artaxerxes I*.

455 *Nehemiah* rebuilds the *Walls of Jerusalem*. Separation of Jews and Samaritans.

410 Destruction of the *Temple of Yahu* (Jehovah) in *Elephantiné*, in the reign of *Darius II*.

333 Battle of *Issus* in which *Alexander the Great* becomes master of Syria and Palestine.

274 *First Syrian War* between Ptolemy II and Antiochus I.

168 *Antiochus IV, Epiphanes,* pollutes the temple. Onias builds a Yahweh temple at Leontopolis in Egypt.
165 Rise of *Judas Maccabeus. Cleansing of the Temple.*
141 *Simon* conquered the *Acra* in Jerusalem.
139 Simon gains the *independence of Judea.*
135 Conflict between *John Hyrcanus I* and Antiochus VII. Jerusalem taken by Antiochus VII.
104 *Aristobulus* son of Hyrcanus becomes first Hasmonean king of Judea (104–102).
63 *Pompey* captures Jerusalem. Judea becomes a Roman province.
47 Hyrcanus II made Ethnarch by Caesar.
37 *Herod* made king of Judea by the Romans.
17 Herod begins rebuilding the temple.
5 *Birth of Christ.*
6 A. D. *Archelaus deposed,* and Judah taken under the direct control of Rome.
7 *Enrolment under Quirinius.*
36 *Pontius Pilate* sent to Rome.
41 Short reign of *Agrippa I* begins (41–44).
44 Unsuccessful rebellion under Theudas.
52 Rebellion which lasted till 66.
66 War declared against Rome.
70 *Jerusalem and the temple destroyed by Titus.* Yahweh temple in Leontopolis closed.
116 Uprising of the Jews under Trajan.
132 *Uprising of Bar-Cochba* under Hadrian.
135 Downfall of the Jews.

APPENDIX II

Kings of Judah and Israel with Dates

Judah	*Israel*
937 Rehoboam	937 Jeroboam
920 Abȳam	915 Nadab
917 Asa	913 Baasha
876 Jehosaphat	889 Elah
851 Jehoram	887 Zimri
843 Ahaziah	887 Omri
842 Athaliah	875 Ahab
836 Joash	853 Azariah
796 Amaziah	851 Joram
782 Azariah (Uzziah)	842 Jehu
Jotham (Co-Regent)	814 Jehoahaz
737 Ahaz	797 Jehoash
715 Hezekiah	781 Jeroboam II
696 Manasseh	740 Zechariah
641 Amon	740 Shallum
639 Josiah	737 Menahem
609 Jehoahaz	735 Pekahiah
608 Jehoiakim	735 Pekah
597 Jehoiakin	733–722 Hoshea
567–586 Zedekiah	

APPENDIX III

Kings of Babylonia and Persia since 586 with Dates

Babylonia	*Persia*
604 Nebuchadrezzar	559 Cyrus
562 Amel-Marduk	529 Cambyses
559 Nergal-shar-utsur	522 Pseudo-Smerdis (Gaumata)
(Nergilissar)	522 Darius I
556 Labashi-Marduk	485 Xerxes I
555–538 Nabuna'id (Nabonidus)	464 Artaxerxes I
	424 Xerxes II
	424 Darius II
	404 Artaxerxes II
	358 Artaxerxes III
	337 Arses
	335–331 Darius III

APPENDIX IV

Rulers of Egypt and Syria During the Greek Period with Dates

Egypt	*Syria*
322 Ptolemy I Soter	320 Ptolemy I Soter
285 Ptolemy II Philadelphus	315–301 Antigonus
247 Ptolemy III Euergetes	312 Seleucus I Nicator
222 Ptolemy IV Philopator	280 Antiochus I Soter
205 Ptolemy V Epiphanes	261 Antiochus II Theos
181 Ptolemy VI	246 Seleucus II Callinicus
181 Ptolemy VII Philometer	226 Seleucus III Ceraunus
	223 Antiochus III The Great
	187 Seleucus IV Philopator
	175 Antiochus IV Epiphanes

APPENDIX V

Rulers of Syria and Judea in Maccabean and Roman Periods with Dates

Syria	*Judea*
175 Antiochus IV Epiphanes	165 Judas Maccabeus
164 Antiochus V Eupator	161 Jonathan
162 Demetrius I Soter	143 Simon
150 Alexander Balas	135 John Hyrcanus
145 Demetrius II Nicator	105 Aristobulus I
138 Antiochus Sidetes	104 Alexander Jannaeus
128 Demetrius II Nicator	78 Alexandra
113 Antiochus Grypos	69 Aristobulus
113 Antiochus Cyzicenos	63 Pompey captures Jerusalem and "Ethnarchs" ruled till Herod became king
95 Antiochus Eusebes	
86 Demetrius III	40 Herod the Great
83 Antiochus Dionysus	4 Archelaus
Tigranes the Armenian	6 A. D. Archelaus deposed by Rome
69 Rome defeats Tigranes and Syria becomes a Roman province	41 A. D. Herod Agrippa I

APPENDIX V (*Continued*)

Judea

44–66 A. D. Under Roman Procurators:
44 Cuspius Fadus
48 Tiberius Alexander
48 Ventidius Cumanus
52 Antonius Felix
60 Porcius Festus
62 Lucceius Albinus
64–66 Gessius Florus

APPENDIX VI

ROMAN EMPERORS TO HADRIAN

27 B. C. Augustus
14 A. D. Tiberius
37 Caligula
41 Claudius
54 Nero
68 Galba, Otho, Vitellius
69 Vespasian
79 Titus
81 Domitian
96 Nerva
98 Trajan
117–138 Hadrian

APPENDIX VII

HIGH PRIESTS FROM 538 B. C. TO CAIAPHAS, 36 A. D.

538–333 Joshua
Jehoiakim
Eliashib
Jehoiada
Johanan
Jaddua

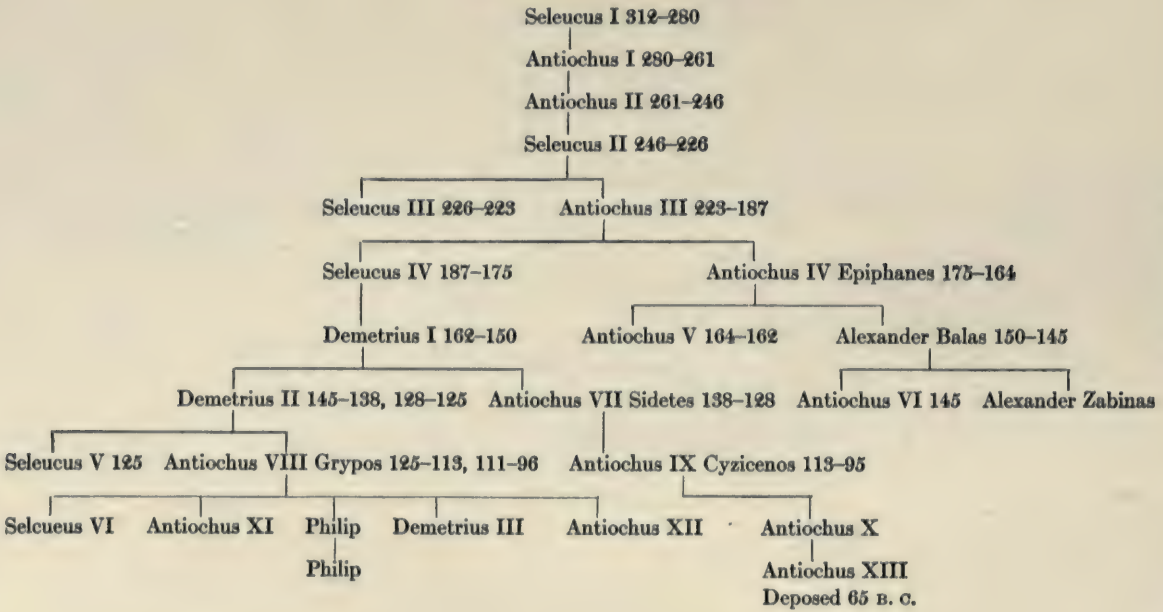
333–175 Onias I
Simeon I
Eleazar
Manasseh
Onias II
Simeon II
Onias III

APPENDIX VII (*Continued*)

175 B. C. – 36 A. D.	Jason	Aristobulus III
	Menelaus	Jesus
	Alcimus	Simon
	Jonathan	Mattathias
	Simon	Joseph
	John Hyrcanus	Joasar
	Aristobulus I	Eleasar
	Alexander Jannaeus	Jesus
	Hyrcanus II	Ananos
	Aristobulus II	Ismael
	Hyrcanus II	Eleasar
	Antigonus	Simon
	Ananael	Caiaphas (18–36)

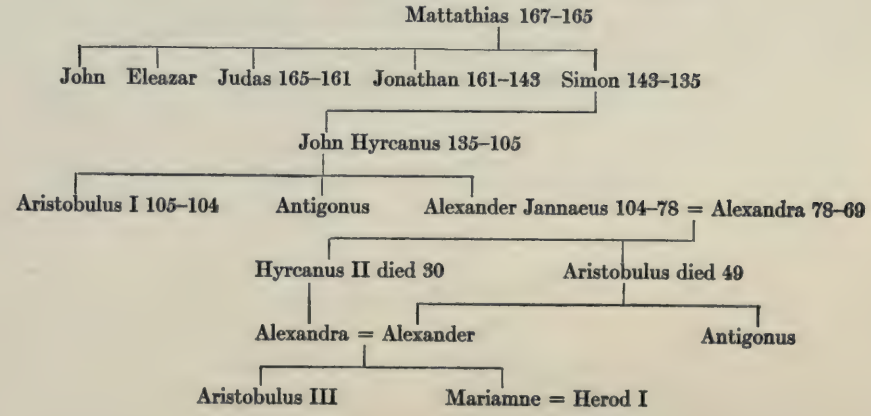
APPENDIX VIII

The Seleucidae, 312–65 B. C.



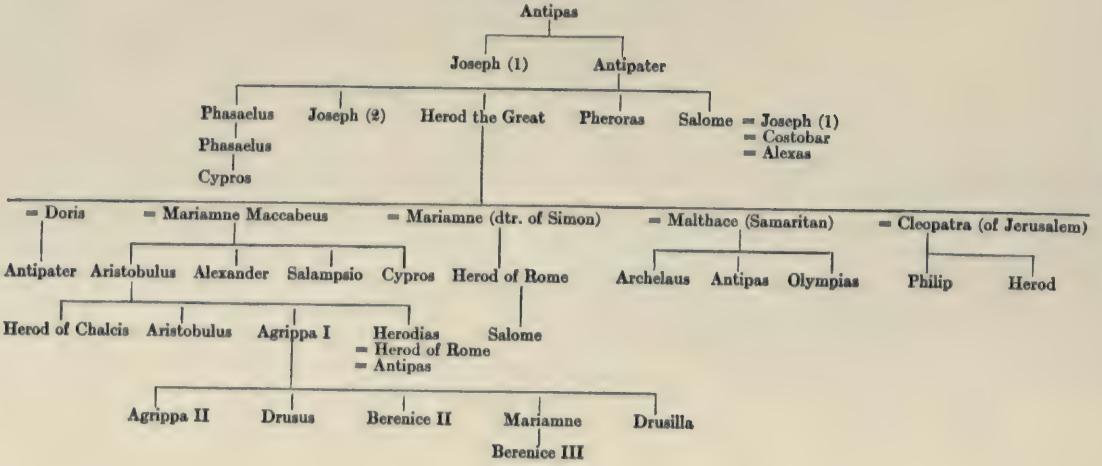
APPENDIX IX

The Genealogy of the Hasmoneans



APPENDIX X

The Herodian Family



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